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MEMOIRS

OF THE WAR IN ASIA,

FROM 1780 TO 1784.

Exhibiting

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

IMPRISONMENT AND SUFFERINGS

OF

OUR OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS,

AND PARTICULARLY OF AN

OFFICER OF

COLONEL BAILLIE'S DETACHMENT.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

SOLD BY J. SEWELL, CORNHILL; AND J. DEBRETT,

PICCADILLY.

1789.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE COMPILER of theſe Memoirs, in an Advertiſement prefixed to the Firſt Edition, declared, that if, after every endeavour to inveſtigate, and with the ſincereſt deſire to ſtate the truth, any error ſhould have been inſerted, prejudicial to any man, neither means nor inclination were wanting to make due reparation. ---Such errors, he is ſorry to find, on the moſt inconteſtible evidence, have in fact been committed in ſeveral, but in two or three, very important inſtances. Theſe errors it becomes, of courſe, the duty of the Compiler to correct: and this he would have done at the expence, without any encouragement to publiſh a new edition. ---The rapid ſale of a large impreſſion, and a continued demand for the Memoirs, enables him to diſcharge his obligations to the Public, and to do homage to the cauſe, without making any ſacrifice to juſtice.

BUT

But what the Compiler of the Memoirs conſiders as a more pleaſing, as well as a more honourable reward of his pains, is, the various and valuable communications with which he has been favoured, from different quarters, reſpecting the origin, progreſs, and termination of the war, and others deſcriptive of places and phyſical productions, of cuſtoms, manners, and opinions, which, if they had not always any direct influence on the courſe of events, might, nevertheleſs, be fitly introduced, and give relief to the narrative by way of epiſodes. It is only a ſmall portion of this new and intereſting matter that could be introduced in this compreſſed edition of the Memoirs: but it encourages him to attempt, and will aſſiſt his endeavours to execute, an hiſtorical account of our affairs in India, civil and military, from the year 1763, to 1783, inclusive. And he hopes that the candour with which he acknowledges and remedies his miſtakes, and the reſpect which he ſhows to truth, will invite ſtill farther information.

Though

THOUGH Memoirs are not ſubjected to the laws of regular hiſtory, in every compoſition there ſhould be, as much as poſſible, an unity of deſign, a proportion of parts, a beginning, a middle, and an end. It has therefore been thought proper, as a comprehenſive hiſtory of the period above mentioned is in contemplation, to abridge, for the preſent, the political digreſſions contained in the former edition of this Work, and to give only ſuch a general view of the Mahratta war, as may be neceſſary, in order to convey to the reader an idea of the ſtate of India when Hyder-Ally invaded the Carnatic.—Thus, a natural and ſtrong bond of connection will unite the principal events recorded; the invaſion of Hyder, which emphatically opens the ſcene; the conflicts and the ſufferings to which this gave birth; the efforts that were made on both ſides for continuing the war; the military ſkill and valour diſplayed in its progreſs, and particularly at its moſt critical period; the reſtoration of peace; and the meaſures taken by the Eaſt-India Company, and

the

the Britiſh Government, for preventing ſimilar irruptions, and ſecuring the peaceful poſſeſſion of their eaſtern dominions.

THE preſſing demands of thoſe who are anxious to know, and to have a record of the fate of their relations and friends, have induced the Writer of the Memoirs to introduce, after the fatal battle of Ticoallum, an abridged account on the whole, though containing ſome new and very intereſting particulars, of the narrative of the impriſonment and ſufferings of our officers and ſoldiers. If this melancholy epiſode ſhould be thought diſproportioned, in too high a degree, to the body of the Work, the Compiler muſt take ſhelter from the rigour of criticiſm in the ſame moral feelings which have given circulation to the Memoirs with all their imperfections. But, it may be proper to mention, that it is not intended either to interweave or to annex this Narrative to the Hiſtory which he has been encouraged to announce to the Public.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

PAGE 239, After the word *enemy*, add, with inſtructions to Captain Flint, the Commanding Officer, to ſecure them in the fort, in proper time, the next morning

P. 339, After the word *Colonel*, the laſt of the line and page, add, whoſe junction with Munro was now become more neceſſary than ever

P. 432, After the firſt paragraph of that page, ending with Hanoverians, add, by intelligence received in June and July, 1783, from different quarters, it appears, that the loſs ſuſtained on the 13th of June by the French, amounted, in killed and wounded, at the loweſt computation, to 900 men and 40 officers.

P. 435, laſt line, after the word *which*, add, as he ſuppoſed

P. 437, line 6th, After the words *much leſs*, add, in the abſence of the ſouthern force, without great inconvenience

P. 438, line 24th, Inſtead of *in Tanjore*, read, ſouth of the Coleroon

P. 439, line 17th, Inſtead of *before*, read, near Mangalore.

P. 440, line 24th, Inſtead of *conſiſted*, read, is ſaid to have conſiſted

P. 441, line 5th, Inſtead of *amounted*, read, is ſaid to have amountd

P. 446, line 15th, Dele *that an army had gone againſt Arcot*

P. 448,

Additions and Corrections.

P. 448, For the check word, *After*, at the bottom, read The

P. 453, Parag. 2d, line 2d, After the word *French*, add, *Colonel Cossigny*

P. 457, Parag. 2d, line 2d, After the word *by*, read, *an inland invasion of*

——— line 4th, After the words, *occurred to*, read, *those who seemed*

P. 458, line 23d, After the word *therefore*, read, propofed to the Committee of Council at

P. 459, line 14th, After the words *Commander in Chief*, add, who was never of opinion that this negotiation would come to a profperous iffue

P. 463, line 2d, After the word *Coromandel*, read, *nearly*

P. 472, laft line, After the word *were*, read, faid to have been

WAR IN ASIA,

FROM

1780 to 1784.

THE difficulties under which Great Britain laboured at the commencement of 1780 in the weſt, begun by the exerciſe of power over a kindred nation, continued by inteſtine diviſion, and prolonged by the incapacity of Commanders in Chief, exciting at once the hopes and the revenge of her enemies in the eaſt, united the diſcordant Mahratta ſtates, Hyder-Ally-Cawn, the Soubah of the Deccan, the Rajah of Berar, and almoſt all the leſſer powers of Hindoſtan, in a confederacy againſt the Engliſh. This formidable aſſociation, which was encouraged by emiſſaries from France, and confirmed by military ſuccours from the French iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon, was a ſource of great danger and

alarm to our government in Aſia, as well as of ſuffering to individual Britiſh ſubjects: for hence the devaſtation of the Carnatic, the exciſion or capture of three armies, and the impriſonment, torture, and aſſaſſination of more of our officers and ſoldiers than had ever before fallen into the hands of our eaſtern enemies. But the ſpirit of our Civil Rulers, and Military Commanders in India, particularly the genius of one man, contending againſt fluctuating counſels at home, and the oppoſition and errors of his colleagues in office abroad, reſtored peace and proſperity to the Britiſh ſettlements in Aſia, and liberty to the numerous captives diſperſed in different jails on the coaſt of Malabar, in conſtant apprehenſion of thoſe murderous attacks that had been made from time to time, by regular and fixed gradations, on their unfortunate fellow-priſoners and countrymen.

1777.] While Roganaut-Row, a claimant of the Mahratta adminiſtration, under the protection of the government of Bombay, fomented diſſenſions in the government of Poonah, and, deceived in all probability himſelf, magnified both the numbers and the power of his partizans among his countrymen, the enemies of that unfortunate Chief gave open countenance

rance to agents from France and Auſtria. Formal engagements, if common report could be truſted, had paſſed between a majority of the Mahratta Chiefs and the French Agent St. Lubin. The object of theſe, it was evident, whatever it might be, muſt, if attained, prove deſtructive to the trade of the Engliſh Company, and to the Britiſh influence in India. Thus a foundation was laid for jealouſies on both ſides. The Mahrattas ſuſpected that the Engliſh ſtill entertained the deſign of raiſing Roganaut-Row to the adminiſtration of Poonah; and the Engliſh, that the Poonah Miniſters had entered into an alliance with the French, for the purpoſe of ſubverting the Britiſh power and authority in Aſia.

That either Roganaut-Row, or ſome other Chief, ſhould be placed at the head of the Mahratta regency, who ſhould conduct the government on the ground of alliance and friendſhip with the Engliſh, was a meaſure which the preſent juncture of affairs rendered highly expedient: but, that a military force ſhould be ſent from Bengal to ſupport the government of Bombay, at all adventures, in oppoſition to the power and machinations of our enemies both in Europe and Aſia, ſeemed neceſſary to the very exiſtence of the Britiſh ſettlements in

India. A war with the Mahrattas, under the conduct of Mr. Haſtings in the cabinet, and the immediate direction of General Goddard in the field, was carried on, notwithſtanding certain miſcarriages in its outſet, ariſing from the weak councils of Bombay, with proſperous ſucceſs. But, in the mean time, the intrigues of the French with the Mahratta Chiefs and Hyder-Ally-Cawn, their reports of the general combination againſt the Britiſh empire in Europe and in America, of the misfortunes that had befallen, and that ſtill threatened to befal us, joined to their aſſurance of powerful ſuccours by ſea and land, ſpread a general opinion throughout India, that all the crowns which centered in the King were tottering on his head, and that ſome of them had already fallen. The latent ſparks of ambition and revenge, which the power and proſperity of Great Britain had ſmothered, began now to ſmoke and threaten an eruption. A combination, in which the Soubah of the Deccan, reputed the moſt ſubtle politician, after the death of Nundocomar, in the caſt, took the lead, was formed among the great powers of Hindoſtan againſt the Engliſh.

In the month of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, Hyder-Ally Cawn invaded the Carnatic, with an army of one hundred

dred thouſand men, a large train of artillery, a conſiderable European force, and many French officers. Repeated intelligence from the frontier garriſons, for a year paſt, of the enemy's preparations and hoſtile deſigns, had been treated at the preſidency of Madras with contempt.—The majority of the Select Committee would not believe that an invaſion was intended, till the enemy's horſe appeared on the Choultry plain, and drove them from their garden houſes within the walls of Fort St. George.

The Company's troops on the Coromandel coaſt were ſcattered in different and diſtant garriſons. The troops in the town and neighbourhood of Madras, with thoſe under Col. Braithwaite at Pondicherry, were drawn together at the Mount, and compoſed their main army, conſiſting of fifteen hundred Europeans, and four thouſand two hundred ſepoys, with an artillery of forty-two field pieces, five cohorns, and four battering cannon. This force, under the command of General Sir Hector Munro, marched to Conjeveram, the largeſt village in the Carnatic, ſixty miles diſtant from Madras, and thirty-five from Arcot, at that time beſieged by the enemy. There the General determined to wait till he ſhould be joined by Colonel Coſby, with a detachment from Tanjore, of fifteen hundred

ſepoys, four hundred cavalry, with their light infantry, and four three pounders; and by Colonel Baillie, from the Northern Circars, at the head of three thouſand men, including two companies of European infantry, and ſixty European artillery men, with ten field pieces.

But Hyder-Ally, informed of the movements of the Engliſh army, raiſed the ſiege of Arcot, detached the flower of his army, under the command of his ſon Tippoo, to cut off the detachment under Colonel Baillie, who now lay in camp at Perambaukum, a ſmall village, diſtant from the main army about fifteen miles, remaining himſelf in the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, in order to watch the motions of Sir Hector Munro. The detachment under Tippoo conſiſted of thirty thouſand horſe, eight thouſand foot, and twelve pieces of artillery. This numerous body, Colonel Baillie, with his uſual intrepidity, repulſed for ſeveral times, in an action that laſted for ſeveral hours, with great ſlaughter. The enemy, however, ſtill hung upon his party, with an evident intention of renewing their attacks whenever they ſhould find a favourable opportunity: the Colonel, therefore, adviſed the Commander in Chief of his ſituation, and expreſſed his doubts of being able to effect a junction.

Sir

Sir Hector Munro, having received this intelligence on the ſixth of September, detached Colonel Fletcher, on the evening of the eighth, to the relief of Colonel Baillie, with a choſen body of twelve hundred men, who, having marched in good order, and with great expedition, joined their friends, at break of day, on the ninth. On the evening of that day, at eight o'clock, the united detachments marched, by diviſions, towards Conjeveram. About ten o'clock, three guns were fired by the rear-guard, which induced Colonel Baillie to believe that they were attacked. He therefore ordered the line to turn to the right about, and to form in the rear, with their front towards Perambaukum. The enemy kept up an inceſſant fire, though with little effect; and as they did not diſcover an inclination to advance, the Engliſh Commander gave orders for the troops to face to the right, and to march into the avenue through which they had paſſed a few minutes before. The whole line being now formed in this avenue, a general halt took place; and Captain Rumley, with five companies of ſepoy grenadiers, was detached to ſtorm two guns that had now opened with great execution on our left. There is not a doubt but this party would have accompliſhed the ſervice on which they were ſent, had not a water-courſe, which happened at that time to be unfordable,

obliged them to return to the line. A degree of diſorder, ariſing from this and the other movements juſt mentioned, was, perhaps, the reaſon why Colonel Baillie came to the unfortunate reſolution of halting all night.

On the morning of the next day, being the 10th of September, as ſoon as it was day-light, our little army purſued their march, and, ſoon after, obſerved Tippoo Saib's army moving, in the ſame direction, on their left flank; on which, four of the enemy's guns opened with great effect. So hot was the fire ſuſtained by our men, and ſo heavy the loſs, that Colonel Baillie ordered the whole line to quit the avenue, and preſent a front to the enemy, whilſt Captain Rumley, with two battalions of grenadier ſepoys, and the markſmen, ſhould ſtorm their guns.—Theſe were abandoned by the enemy, while our ſepoys were yet at the diſtance of two hundred yards. But as our little detachment were advancing to ſeize and ſpike them, a ſudden cry among the ſepoys of horſe! horſe! threw them into confuſion, and they retreated with precipitation.---It was the main army of Hyder, who being informed of the embarraſſing ſituation of Colonel Baillie, had advanced for the improvement of ſo favourable a conjuncture. He came onward at firſt, as if he had determined to charge

our

our line, but ſuddenly wheeled off. He ſoon, however, brought ſixteen guns to bear on our right flank, while Tippoo Saib, with about half that number, played on our left. Our troops kept up a diſtant cannonade for about an hour and an half, when their guns being ſilenced by a ſcarcity of ammunition, and a great number of our artillery men having fallen, the enemy began to advance upon them, though ſlowly. They were now ordered to lie down in their ranks, in hopes that the main army would come to their aſſiſtance. The enemy preſſed cloſer and cloſer: and it was at laſt thought neceſſary to ſupport one of the battalions in the rear by the example of a company of European grenadiers, under the command of Captain Ferriers. The ſepoys ſeeing the grenadiers in motion without being apprized of their deſign, or properly prepared for it, followed in great diſorder. The grenadiers immediately halted, and uſed every method to reſtore order in vain. The other ſepoys, panick-ſtruck by lying under a heavy cannonade, at the ſight of their confuſion and retreat, gave up all for loſt, and, throwing down their arms, fled to a ſmall coppice wood. The party under Captain Ferriers were immediately joined by all the Europeans, on a riſing ground, which they defended againſt repeated attacks, whilſt the enemy's horſe made dreadful havock among the

ſepoys.

ſepoys. Our countrymen remained firm and intrepid, and ſeemed determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Hyder's horſe and foot, in one confuſed multitude, advanced within fifteen yards of that ſmall body of men, but could not break them. Many of our men raiſing themſelves from the ground, received the enemy on their bayonets. But the Britiſh Commander, finding now that there was not any proſpect of being relieved by General Munro, and knowing that it was impoſſible for ſuch an handful of men to maintain their ground much longer, ſtepped forward with a white handkerchief, and commanded them to order their arms and call for quarter. The Chief, to whom Colonel Baillie held up the flag of truce, treated it at firſt with contempt, and, at the ſame time endeavoured to cut off the Colonel. A few minutes after this, our men received orders to lay down their arms, with intimation that quarter would be granted. This order was no ſooner complied with than the enemy ruſhed upon them in the moſt ferocious manner: ſeven-eighths of the whole were put to the ſword, and, but for the humane interpoſition of the French Commanders, Lally and Pimoran, who implored and inſiſted with the conqueror to ſhew mercy, the gallant remains of our little army muſt have fallen

fallen a ſacrifice to that ſavage thirſt of blood with which the tyrant diſgraced his victory.

Hyder, after the action, as he was apprehenſive of being purſued by Sir Hector Munro, leaving many of his wounded men on the field of battle, retreated to a place, near Damul, called the Round Wells, where he had before encamped. Having heard, on his arrival at this place, of the retreat of our army towards Chingliput, he diſpatched his cavalry to purſue and harraſs them. They returned next day, loaded with plunder, and with many priſoners, moſt of them grievouſly wounded.

While the enemy's horſe and elephants marched again and again in barbarian triumph over the field of battle, the wounded and bleeding Engliſh, who were not inſtantly trodden to death by the feet of thoſe animals, lingered out a miſerable exiſtence, expoſed in the day to the burning rays of a vertical ſun, and in the night to the ravages of foxes, jackalls, and tygers, allured to that horrid ſcene by the ſcent of human blood. Many officers, as well as privates, ſtripped of all that they had, after protracting hour after hour, and day after day, in pain, miſerably periſhed; others riſing, as it were from the dead, after an incredible loſs of blood, which induced,

for

for a time the moſt perfect inſenſibility and ſtupefaction, found means to rejoin their friends in chains, with whom they were deſtined to ſhare, for years, the horrors of the gloomy jail, rendered ſtill more dreadful by frequent apprehenſions of that aſſaſſination which, they had the moſt undoubted proofs, had been practiſed on numbers of their fellow-priſoners, diſperſed in different places of confinement, throughout the dominions of a barbarous enemy.

Hyder-Ally, ſeated in a chair in his tent, at Damul, ſix miles from the ſcene of action, enjoyed the ſight of his priſoners, and the heads of the ſlain. Colonel Baillie, with ſeveral other officers, who, like himſelf, were inhumanly wounded, were carried to his camp. The vehicle on which the Colonel was borne was a cannon. While theſe unfortunate gentlemen lay on the ground, in the open air, at Hyder-Ally's feet, heads of their unfortunate friends were, from time to time, preſented to the conqueror; ſome of them even by Engliſh officers, who were forced to perform this inhuman ſervice. One Engliſh gentleman, in particular, was forced to carry two heads of his countrymen, which proved to be Captain Phillips and Doctor Wilſon. But, ſoon after the arrival of the Engliſh officers, Hyder, touched with a latent ſpark of

humanity,

humanity, ordered the practice of bringing heads before him, while the Engliſh gentlemen were preſent, to be diſcontinued; and the heads of Captain Phillips and Doctor Wilſon he ordered to be removed. A dooley was ſent to the field of battle in ſearch of Colonel Fletcher; but he could not find him. The Colonel's head was afterwards carried to the barbarian's camp. As ſome of our officers were obliged to carry the heads of their countrymen to Hyder's camp, ſo others were obliged to carry heavy loads of fire-locks. For every European head that was brought to the barbarian by any of his own people, who were volunteers in that ſervice, a premium was given of five rupees; for every European brought alive, ten rupees. The conqueror, enjoying a barbarous triumph over our captive countrymen, ſuffered them to remain in his preſence till ſun-ſet, without ordering them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance in their diſtreſs.

Hyder, intoxicated with ſucceſs, exulted over Colonel Baillie in terms which our countryman retorted with ſuch ſpirit and contempt, that Colonel Aſſar, who witneſſed this ſcene, and who declared this, with other particulars relative to the courſe and the iſſue of the battle of Tricoallum, to the Governor of Goa, was apprehenſive that the inſolent conqueror would have been provoked

provoked to an act of fatal barbarity. An European officer, in Hyder's ſervice, of the name of Elliot, ſuffered ſtripes, by his orders, in the Durbar, for carrying ſome neceſſaries to the captive Commander.

The ſhell of a tent was at laſt fixed for Colonel Baille and his officers, but without a bit of ſtraw, or any thing on which they might lie, although repeated application was made for this accommodation, and many of theſe gentlemen were in danger from their wounds. This tent, it muſt be obſerved, at the ſame time, contained only ten perſons; the reſt of the priſoners were obliged to remain in the open air. About ſeven o'clock, towards the evening, Colonel Baillie was viſited by Monſieur Goddard, a French officer, who, although in poor circumſtances himſelf, aſſiſted our countrymen to the utmoſt extent of his power. At ten, ſome pilaw was ſent to the priſoners from the Circar.

Several officers were alſo carried to Tippoo Saib, who treated them with great humanity. He invited them into his tent, gave them biſcuit, and to each five pagodas. One of the gentlemen, Captain Monteith, who was a married man, expreſſed an earneſt deſire of ſending a letter to his wife at Madras; with which

Tippoo,

Tippoo readily complied. Nothing could be more ſtriking, on this ſad occaſion, than the contraſt between the conduct of the father and that of the ſon.

Sept. 11. Hyder-Ally, on the day after the engagement, moved his army from Damul to Muſſalawaulk, where he had left his baggage, with his tents ſtanding, when he marched to attack Colonel Baillie. Some of our wounded officers were carried in palanquins, without any covering, expoſed to a ſultry ſun; and many of them were obliged to walk, ſubjected to the groſs abuſe, and even to the blows of their ſeveral guards. The moment they arrived at the limits of Hyder's camp, they had a pleaſing inſtance of the ſuperior humanity and courteſy of European officers contraſted with the inhumanity of Hyder's people. Fifteen French officers ſaluted them with the compliment of the hat, and they found the fly of a marqui with a ſmall tent pitched for their reception. Soon after this Captain Pimoran, a French officer, viſited Colonel Baillie, and preſenting Mr. Lally's beſt reſpects, aſſured him that this commander had applied to Hyder-Ally for leave to viſit him, but that it had been refuſed. Captain Pimoran brought along with him 300 pagodas, ſome clothes,

clothes, bread, wine, and two French Surgeons to dreſs the wounded. Several other French officers too, were very active in adminiſtering to the Engliſh priſoners the utmoſt aid and conſolation in their power to afford. Hyder ſent five hundred rupees, which, as being too ſmall a ſum for diſtribution, the Colonel declined to accept.

On the 12th of September, arrived in Hyder's camp, Lieutenant Bowſer and Enſign Dick, with ſome privates: and, on the ſame day, Lieutenant Cox, and the Enſigns Maconichy and Wemyſs. During the time that theſe gentlemen remained near the Head Pay-maſter's tent, the heads of upwards of ten Europeans were brought by different people, who received the promiſed reward. Lieut. Bowſer, who, in the engagement, had received a muſquet ball in his leg, after our little army ſurrendered, received eight wounds with a ſcymitar. Theſe brought him to the ground, where he lay deprived of all ſenſation, for ſeveral hours. Having received, from ſome friendly hand, a chatty full of water tinged with blood, he endeavoured to proceed towards Conjeveram: but overcome with fatigue, he was obliged to lie all night in the open air, during which there fell two heavy showers of rain.

In

In the morning of the 11th, he made a ſecond effort to proceed towards Conjeveram; but after walking about a mile, he was met by ſome of the enemy's horſemen, who aſked him who he was? In the hope that they would think him below their notice, he anſwered that he was a poor ſoldier, and that he was going to ſeek ſome relief under his diſtreſſes at Conjeveram. They informed him that that place was in the poſſeſſion of Hyder, and that he muſt proceed as a priſoner to his camp, taking charge of him at the ſame time, and obliging him to walk without any aſſiſtance. At eight o'clock, the horſemen delivered him up to two of the enemy's ſepoys, who behaved to him with rather more humanity and kindneſs. They gave him water out of the palms of their hands, placed properly together for that purpoſe; for by this time he had become ſo ſtiff with his wounds, that he could not of himſelf bend or ſtoop, even in the ſmalleſt degree. Whenever he wanted to reach to any thing, the guard, taking hold of his arm, let him gently down and pulled him up. About twelve o'clock he was equally ſurprized and overjoyed to come up with a brother officer, Enſign Dick, a quarter-maſter ſerjeant of artillery, and two privates. He was now joined to this party, who were nearly in the ſame ſituation with himſelf. The quarter-maſter ſerjeant had received ſo deep a cut acroſs

the back part of his neck, that he was obliged to hold his head in his hands, in order to keep it from falling to a ſide, all the journey. The leaſt ſhake or unevenneſs of the ground made him cry out with pain. He once and again ceaſed from all attempts to proceed, abandoning himſelf to the deſpair of ever being able to accompliſh his painful journey, or to prolong his miſerable life; but, being encouraged, called on, and conjured by his companions to renew his efforts, he did ſo, and they were ſucceſsful. He recovered of his wound, and is now alive; the moſt ſtriking proof, perhaps, that is to be found of that power or principle of recovery and ſelf-preſervation which beneficent Providence has implanted in the conſtitution of our nature.——As they moved ſlowly on, they perceived ſeveral Europeans lying dead on the road, and naked; others dying, and many calling out in vain for water. To their priſoners, however, who were able to walk, however ſlowly, the guards adminiſtered a little dry rice ſoaked in water. They were not indulged with water, as they could not ſtoop to aſſiſt themſelves, ſo often as they wiſhed for it. It was often refuſed to their moſt earneſt entreaties. Nor were they allowed to reſt oftener than at the ſpaces of two or three hundred yards, which appeared to them tedious and painful journies; and

and permiſſion to reſt a little, even after theſe, was accounted a great favour.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, this little party arrived in Hyder's camp, where they were obliged, as has been obſerved, to lie on the bare ground, expoſed to the winds and rain all night, although there were empty tents at no greater diſtance than ten yards. They now met with ſome aſſiſtance from certain ſepoys, who had formerly been in our ſervice.

On the 12th, as ſoon as it was day-light, this little party anxiouſly requeſted to be ſent to Colonel Baillie, and the other officers, but were told that they muſt be carried before Hyder. An order for this purpoſe arrived about ten o'clock; and on their way to his tent, they were accoſted by ſeveral Europeans, who had formerly been in our ſervice, but had deſerted. Theſe men ſympathized with our ſituation, and inſiſted on our drinking a little arrack with them, which we did, in the midſt of multitudes who crowded around us. They took their leave of their kind entertainers, whom, in the midſt of their own diſtreſſes, they could not help conſidering as unfortunate; but they had not proceeded above an hundred yards before they were ordered to ſtop. They were at this time ſo overcome by fatigue, that they laid

themſelves down on a bed of ſand, almoſt devoured with flies, and a ſpectacle to thouſands of ſpectators. At this time Captain Pimoran came up to them, took down their names, expreſſed the greateſt ſorrow at their diſtreſsful ſituation, and gave to each of them one ſhirt, one pair of long drawers, one pocket handkerchief, and to each alſo a pagoda. He farther gave orders that ſome victuals ſhould be dreſſed for them. About twelve o'clock another order arrived for them to proceed to Hyder immediately; but on their arrival at the Paymaſter's tent, which was cloſe to Hyder's, as already mentioned, they were again ordered to ſtop, and proceed no farther. They were now ſo exceedingly reduced by their accumulated diſtreſſes, that there was not one of them who thought it poſſible they ſhould live much longer, and who was not convinced that he ſhould very ſoon die. At this time Lieutenant Bowſer ſaw Dr. Lloyd, whom he had formerly known at Madras, coming out of Hyder's tent. He inſtantly requeſted one of the guards to call the Doctor, and, after making himſelf known to him, begged that he would obtain an order that his ſmall party might be ſent to Colonel Baillie and the other officers. With this request the Doctor complied, without the [illegible]. There were ſome of them [illegible] with want, pain, and fatigue, [illegible] loſs of blood,

blood, that it was found neceſſary that they ſhould be carried on the backs of French ſoldiers.

On the 13th, Kiſtna row, Hyder-Ally's Dewan, or Treaſurer, brought a thouſand rupees, which Colonel Baillie divided in the following manner:—To each Captain thirteen rupees; to the Lieutenants nine; to the Enſigns ſeven; and to the non-commiſſioned officers and privates, one rupee each. This officer of Hyder's took a liſt of our names, and delivered to Colonel Baillie a quantity of ſilk cloth, palampore, and ſome pieces of coarſe cloth. The Colonel gave to the Captains, Surgeons, and Lieutenants of his Majeſty's 73d regiment each a ſilk cloth; to the ſubalterns one piece of coarſe cloth, with one ſmall palampore; and to each private one piece of cloth. This day Enſign Wemyſs died. On this day, alſo, a ſoldier brought the names of Captain Ferrier, Lieutenant Wade, and Enſign Moncrieff, written on a piece of an earthen pot or chatty. Theſe poor gentlemen had taken this method of ſignifying that they were ſtill alive, and of requeſting ſome aſſiſtance. Serjeant Macormick, on the day after the engagement, found Lieutenant Wade and Enſign Moncrieff thrown into a buſh full of thorns, and ſo deſperately wounded, that they were incapable of adminiſtering to themſelves

or to one another, the ſmalleſt relief or aſſiſtance. The ſerjeant, not without difficulty, removed theſe unfortunate gentlemen to the ſhade of a tree, and having ſupplied them with a little water, left them to the care of Providence. It was not in his power, nor, alas! in ours, to afford to our friends the ſmalleſt aid, or to conſole them under their ſufferings, by any token of our ſympathetic ſorrow at their extreme diſtreſs.

Some trunks of cloth were ſent, by orders from Hyder, for the uſe of the whole of his priſoners. Colonel Baillie preſented the commandant of our guard with an hundred rupees. About eleven in the forenoon Kiſtna-row, Hyder's Treaſurer, came and ordered ſuch of us as were capable of walking to ſtand up. This order was inſtantly obeyed; and a ſeparation took place. Colonel Baillie, the Captains Baird, Rumley, Lucas, Menteith, and Wragg, with the Lieutenants Lindſey and Frazer, were ordered to remain in the enemy's camp. The officers not wounded, who amounted to the number of twenty-three, were ſent to Bangalore; and thoſe who were wounded, of whom there were twenty-ſeven, to Arnée. The wounded privates were in like manner ſent to Arnée, and thoſe not wounded to Bangalore. All this was done ſo ſuddenly on the part of Hyder, that we

we had not ſo much as an opportunity of ſpeaking to each other, and if any one had dared to ſolicit this privilege, he would undoubtedly have been treated by the guards, who were under the neceſſity of carrying their maſter's orders into prompt execution, with great abuſe. However, as they could not prevent us from ſeeing, we beheld our brother ſufferers mounted on ſmall horſes called tattoos: and ſoon after this, ſome doolies were brought for the party deſtined for Arnée, who were hurried into them with every mark of contempt. Theſe doolies are the moſt inhuman vehicles in which Europeans were ever placed. The common ſort are from three feet and an half to four feet long, and about two feet and an half broad.——They are compoſed of a frame made of bamboo or common wood, with four poſts at the corners, to which the ſides and ends are faſtened, at the diſtance of eight inches from the ground. To each of theſe poſts is fixed a ſtraight bamboo, or large pole, by means of which the machine is carried by four coolies or bearers. The frame is laſhed together by ropes made of the fibres of the cocoa nut, and ſometimes by ſmall rattan canes, which, at the ſame time that they ſerve to faſten the machine, ſupply the place of a ſeat. The doolies are uſually covered over with coarſe cotton cloth; but as ours had no

coverings of any kind, many of our gentlemen ſuffered very ſeverely.

The poor ſoldiers, who laboured under every miſery, were ſome of them put into theſe dooleies, and above fifty of them placed on arrack bandiers or carts. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the inexpreſſible ſufferings of thoſe unfortunate men, deſperately wounded, their bodies expoſed to a ſevere ſun, placed ſix or eight of them together on theſe arrack bandiers, knocking againſt each other, from the jolting of the machine, and refuſed even a drop of water. When we had advanced in this painful manner, about four miles from Hyder's camp, we made an halt. A fly of a *marqui* was now pitched, to ſhelter us from the weather. About eight in the evening there fell an heavy ſhower of rain, which proved ſo deſtructive to ſome of the ſoldiers that they died raving mad: for theſe poor men having neither tent nor covering of any kind, the water penetrated even to the cerebellum, through the fractures of the ſkull. About twelve o'clock at night a ſheep was brought, with ſome rice, and dreſſed by our ſervants.

Doctor Campbell, one of our ſurgeons, being at the point of death, requeſted leave to bid his laſt farewell to his brother, who was with the Bangalore party, encamped at the diſtance from

from us of about an hundred yards. His requeſt, after a good deal of heſitation, was granted.

Sept. 15. At ſun-riſe we were ordered to eat ſome cold rice, and about eight o'clock we moved onward to Scolore; at which place we arrived about five in the afternoon. Captain Ferrier, and ſeveral privates, died here, and were thrown carelefsly into a hole cloſe by us. The dooley boys, of the hill or cannery caſt, during the courſe of our journey thither, behaved to us in a moſt barbarous manner, often beating us with ſticks, refuſing to give us water, and wantonly and cruelly expoſing us to the ſun. At any time when we were permitted to halt for a little reſt and refreſhment, if they had an opportunity of ſetting us down under the ſhade of a grove or tree, they would give themſelves trouble to expoſe us to ſuffering, by carrying us about to that ſide of the grove or tree where we ſhould not enjoy the cooling ſhade of their leafy branches, but ſuffer the rage of the noon-day ſun, in its utmoſt rigor.—The men who carried theſe doolies, as well as ſome others of the lower caſts of people in Hyder's dominions, would frequently revile us in terms not to be repeated. They would tell us, that we ſhould be forced to eat our own dung,* and expreſs their

* It would appear, from the ſacred writings of the Old Teſtament, that this expreſſion of hatred and averſion was, in antient times, common in other parts of the Eaſt.

their hopes and confidence, that when we ſhould arrive at the place of deſtination, Hyder would not fail to put us to death.

Sept. 16. We moved off this day at the ſame time as yeſterday, and reached Arnée (which, with the adjacent country, had taken choul, or come under the protection of Hyder) at three in the afternoon. Here we were crammed together into a filthy dungeon, barely ſufficient to receive us. Lieutenant Cotton, juſt as he entered within the priſon dropped down dead. It is probable, that had we not halted at Arnée, the whole of us would have periſhed. In the evening ſome rice was ſent to us, with a little maſſal, which is a ſpecies of ſpice, or pepper.

Sept. 17. Our daily allowance at Arnée, was, to each of us one ſeer of rice, and ſometimes a little lean mutton, one ſpoonful of ghee, a ſmall quantity of curry ſtuff, half a ſpoonful of ſalt, and two or three ſticks of firewood.—Our ſervants were allowed each three caſh per day, and one ſeer of rice, with a little ſalt. Application was made for a little ſtraw to ſleep on, but without ſucceſs. We were forced to reſt on the bare ground, without wine, tea, ſugar, or any other comfort or refreſhment, than has been already ſpecified.

At

At the time of our leaving Hyder's camp, Monſieur Caſtro, a ſurgeon, came with two or three ruſty inſtruments, and attended us during our ſtay at Arnée. Monſieur Caſtro, it is juſtice to ſay, ſhewed us great humanity and attention. Our only medicine was a compoſition of wax and oil, which was purchaſed in Hyder's camp.

Sept. 18. In the evening died Dr. Campbell. The death of this gentleman was a ſubject of ſincere regret to all the priſoners. Application was made to the Keeladar for ſome cloth for bandages. This neceſſary article being refuſed, we were obliged to tear up the piece of coarſe cloth we had received as a preſent from Hyder. Many of us were under the neceſſity of going, for ſeveral days naked, being in poſſeſſion of only one ſhirt and trouſers, which, having already worn them for ſix days, we were obliged to get waſhed. Shoes we had none. We had nothing of any kind to ſupply the place of either bedding or bed-cloaths; and the rain, falling on us through the crazy roof of our priſon, diſturbed and annoyed us by night and by day. We were this day viſited by an Hungarian ſerjeant in the ſervice of Hyder. This man, although he was as great a rogue as could be imagined, proved afterwards of very great ſervice to us. After repeated applications to the Keeladar, we at laſt received, on this day, five

five old mats, and made a diviſion of them by cutting them in pieces: but they were ſo bad that we could ſcarcely uſe them.

Sept. 19. We applied to the Keeladar, chiefly on account of the wounds that many of us had received in our heads, for a barber. He returned for anſwer, that if we troubled him any more, he would ſend us irons.

Sept. 20. This day was marked by the death of Mr. John Baillie, a cadet.

22. As this was by that of Enſign Dick.

29. And this by that of Lieutenant Cox.

Mr. Baillie, during the courſe of the preceding night, had fallen into a delirium; and, as we were not allowed any light in our priſon, he walked over ſeveral of the wounded officers, who in the greateſt anguiſh, cried out in vain for aſſiſtance. We had theſe gentlemen as decently carried out as our ſituation would allow. However, we learned afterwards, that they were ſtripped of the piece of cloth which covered them, and thrown into the bed of a river, expoſed to jackalls and tygers and other ravenous animals.

Oct.

Enſign Gordon, who had now recovered from his wounds, was taken out of priſon, and ſent to Seringapatam. Lieutenant Mackay received fifty pagodas, ſent by our reſident at Pondicherry, Mr. Skardon, and conveyed to us by means of our good friend the French doctor. This gentleman, touched with our miſerable ſituation, carried a letter to the humane, the godlike Captain Pimoran, whoſe name it is impoſſible to mention without the livelieſt emotions of gratitude, admiration, and love, attending his duty in Hyder's army, employed at that time in the ſiege of Arcott, which is diſtant from Arnée about eighteen Engliſh miles. The goodneſs of the doctor was the greater that he undertook and performed this friendly journey, notwithſtanding the mean inſinuations of the Hungarian ſerjeant abovementioned, who aſſured him that he would undoubtedly be detected, and dragged to death at an elephant's foot. Captain Pimoran preſented his ſincere reſpects, and begged leave to aſſure us, that he had ſent all the ready money in his poſſeſſion by Monſieur Caſtro, but that he would on every occaſion aſſiſt us to the utmoſt of his power. If we had not been favoured with theſe ſupplies from this generous Frenchman, a private friend though a public foe, the greater part of us muſt have periſhed through want.

Soon

Soon after this we received the melancholy tidings that Captain Pinoran had fallen before Arcott. An honourable death ſecured to this generous ſpirit the glory of a life that was an honour to human nature. But we felt inexpreſſible regret, that we could no longer indulge the hope of teſtifying, by ſome viſible token, that inward gratitude and eſteem which had been awakened in each of our breaſts, by his generous goodneſs.

About this time, the Doctor, having repreſented to us the miſerable ſituation of our unfortunate ſoldiers, we purchaſed for their relief twenty-ſeven pieces of cloth: but on applying to the Keeladar for permiſſion to ſend them, we received no anſwer to our requeſt. So that the ſufferings of the poor ſoldiers remained unaſſuaged by the comforts which their friends had provided. Nor was this the only, or the moſt preſſing requeſt that we were under the neceſſity of making to our enemies. Our place of retirement, which was ſituated within the walls of our diſmal dungeon, became ſo offenſive, that we made the moſt importunate applications to have it cleared. But no orders were iſſued for this neceſſary ſervice by the Keeladar, and none were to be found who would do it voluntarily. —The ſufferings that aroſe from this putrid ſource,

ſource, in a ſultry climate, to men afflicted and worn down with fluxes; the ſwarms of odious vermin that aſſailed our naked and ſore bodies, and that, penetrating and neſtling in the wounded ear of a certain officer, turned the auricular nerve into an inſtrument of the moſt exquiſite pain for ſeveral nights and days: theſe cannot be recollected without horror, nor related without diſguſt. Nor is it worth while, after hinting at ſuch diſtreſſes as theſe, to relate that in the priſon of Arnée many of the Engliſh officers, on account of the want of ſervants, were obliged to waſh their own pots, to kindle their own fires, and dreſs their own victuals.

At this period of our Narrative, it may be proper to give the following ſtatement of the different fates that awaited the gentlemen of Colonel Baillie's detachment, in the late unfortunate action near Tacoallum.

Names of Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Died of Wounds.
Lieut. Col. Baillie -		1	
Lieut. Col. Fletcher -	1		
Lieut. Frazer, Brigadier Major			
Lieut. Read, Aid de Camp			
Lieut. Chace, Brigadier Major		1	
Enſign Burgier, Commiſſary	1		
Carry over	2	2	

Names of Corps.	Killed	Wounded	Died of Wounds.
Brought over	2	2	
SURGEONS.			
Mr. Wilson	1		
Raine		1	
Campbell			1
Ogilvie			
Grenadier Company, 73d Regiment.			
Lieut. John Lindsey		1	
Lieut. Gulin	1		
Mr. Forbes, Volunteer	1		
Light Infantry, 73d.			
Capt. David Baird		1	
Lieut. Mackenzie	1		
Lieut. Melville		1	
Mr. Hodges, Volunteer			
Mr. Cuthbert, Ditto		1	
Company's Artillery.			
Capt. Jones			
Lieut. Smith		1	
Lieut. Cox			1
Lieut. Mirton	1		
Mr. Monie, Conductor	1		
Capt. Phillips's European Grenadiers.			
Capt. Phillips	1		
Lieut. Knox			1
Lieut. Maffey		1	
Enfign Clarke	1		
Carry over	10	9	3

Names of Corps.	Killed	Wounded	Died of Wounds.
Brought over	10	9	3
Capt. Ferrier's European Grenadiers.			
Capt. Ferrier			1
Lieut. Wade	1		
Lieut. M'Neale			
Lieut Bowfer		1	
Lieut. Halliburton		1	
John Gorie, Volunteer			
John Hope, ditto		1	
—— Latham, ditto			
Sepoy Marksmen.			
Lieut. Muat			
Two Companies of European Infantry.			
Capt. Menteith		1	
Capt. Wragg			
Enfign Galway	1		
Lieut. Nafh		1	
Lieut. Dring			
Mr. Baillie, Volunteer		1	
Lieut. Baillie, Volunteer			
Five Companies of Sepoy Grenadiers.			
Capt. Rumley		1	
Enfign Moore		1	
Enfign Maconichy		1	
Enfign Stringer		1	
Enfign Wood	1		
Enfign Clarke	1		
Carry over	13	19	4

Names of Corps.	Killed	Wounded	Died of Wounds.
Brought over	14	19	4
Five Companies of Sepoy Grenadiers.			
Capt. Gowdie		1	
Lieut. Mackay		1	
Enſign Picklaw		1	
Enſign Willon		1	
Enſign Gordon		1	
Enſign Sheddon	1		
Firſt Carnatic Battalion.			
Capt. Lucas		1	
Lieut. Campbell			
Enſign Innis		1	
Enſign Macaliſter		1	
Enſign Mac Lane	1		
Enſign Lombard	1		
Enſign Corner			
Enſign Lang			
Second Circar Battalion.			
Capt. Powell	1		
Lieut. Cotton			1
Lieut. Forbes			
Lieut. Jurin		1	
Enſign Curtis	1		
Enſign Hemming	1		
Enſign Dawes	1		
Enſign Wynn	1		
Enſign Dick			1
Enſign Forbes		1	
Carry over	22	29	6

Names of Corps	Killed	Wounded	Died of Wounds.
Brought over	22	29	6
Second Carnatic Battalion.			
Capt. Geo. Nixon	1		
Lieut. Butler			
Lieut. Dalrymple		1	
Enſign Mackay		1	
Enſign Boſwell	1		
Enſign Rogers	1		
Enſign Tomlinſon	1		
Enſign Frank			
Six Companies of the 7th Carnatic Battalions.			
Capt. Grant		1	
Enſign White			
Enſign Mahagan	1		
Enſign Marſhall	1		
Enſign Macleod	1		
Total	29	32	6

The officers, including volunteers, were in whole eighty-ſix. Of theſe ſeventy were killed or wounded, and only ſixteen eſcaped unhurt.

Nov. 1. The following gentlemen being recovered of their wounds, were ſent off to Seringapatam: Lieutenants Maſſey, Turin, Chace; Enſigns Wilſon and Stringer. This day we received

ceived accounts of the Pittah of Arcott having ſurrendered.

Dec. 8. The following gentlemen being recovered of their wounds, were ordered for Seringapatam, and previouſly to their departure made up a ſum of one hundred and fifty pagodas, in bills on Madras, for the French Doctor, their worthy and good friend, who ſhed tears on their departure—Captain Grant; the Lieutenants Bowſer, Butler, Mackay; Enſigns Picklaw, Moore, Maconichy, Macaliſter; Volunteers Baillie and Hope. Lieutenants Melville, Dalrymple, and Knox, were left at Arnée.—Mr. Knox laboured under a dropſy, nor had the Doctor any inſtruments to give him relief.—Lieutenant Melville had received a ſhot in his left arm, which broke and ſhattered the bone; and a few inſtants after, as he was in the act of turning round to ſpeak to ſome of the ſoldiers, a ball paſſed through the ſame arm, and part of his left breaſt. Had it not been for the accident of turning round, this ball muſt inevitably have put an end to his exiſtence. The enemy's cavalry having broke into our ranks, in the confuſion and carnage which enſued, the bone of his right arm was cut in two by a ſabre, and he was daſhed unmercifully on the ground. He was, after this, ſtripped of all his clothes,

even

even of his ſhirt, and while he was dragged to a convenient ſpot for this purpoſe, his head ſtriking againſt every ſtone, and his disjointed arms trailing over the enſanguined ſoil, he ſuffered the extremity of pain. As he lay naked, bleeding, and helpleſs on this ſpot, a horſeman, with wanton cruelty, wounded him in the back with his ſpear. In this miſerable ſituation he lay for two days and two nights, expoſed to the tortures of a burning ſun, to the danger of being torn to pieces by beaſts of prey, and, what every ſoldier whoſe fate it has been to lie wounded on a field of battle knows to be more dreadful than any or all the other circumſtances of ſuffering united, to the want of water. Lieutenant Melville having made repeated efforts to aſſuage, in ſome degree, his burning thirſt, by means of whatever graſs or herbs was within the narrow circumference of his reach, in vain, was reduced, like other men in ſimilar ſituations of extreme diſtreſs, to the neceſſity of ſeeking for relief from the moiſture of his own body. Had it not been for the humane and moſt generous attentions of Lieutenant Forbes, who lay by him part of the firſt night and aſſiſted him, he muſt in all human probability have periſhed. He was, at laſt, on the morning of the third day, picked off the field by ſome of the enemy, who, without any circumſtance of fellow-feeling or

humanity, carried him in a rude and cruel manner to their camp. The recovery of Mr. Melville may be ranked among the moſt ſtriking proofs of the proviſion that is made for the preſervation of the human frame.

We left Arnée about nine in the morning, penetrated with ſorrow at parting from our friends and fellow-ſufferers. We were under charge of a Bramin, one Commandant of the troops, conſiſting of a few firelock men, one hundred and fifty colleries, and a few horſemen. Piats, or ſmall horſes, were given for our conveyance. A horſe-keeper was allowed to each piat horſe, who had a rope faſtened to the head ſtall of the bridle, with poſitive orders not to quit his ſtation. The whole of us were ordered to move on in a rank entire. We ſuffered much from this mode of conveyance, having only a pad in the room of a ſaddle, and no ſtirrups; crowds of people gazing at us, and many behaving in a moſt inſolent manner. When we arrived on the glacis, we met thirty-two of our unfortunate ſoldiers hand-cuffed, two and two, barefoot, and almoſt naked. Every exertion was made on our part, in order to alleviate their diſtreſs.

We

We arrived in Poloor about four in the afternoon. Some rice was boiled for us and the ſoldiers, with a little ſalt. The rice, after being boiled, was rolled into a ball for the ſoldiers, about the ſize of a foot-ball, and each perſon received his ball. The ſoldiers, at the different halting places, were kept ſeparate from us. As many of theſe were not recovered from their wounds, they were allowed, after repeated applications, to attend the ſurgeons of the country; but under particular reſtrictions not to aſk for news. Many of the ſoldiers ſuffered much from the want of ſhoes. Theſe men not being able to walk, bullocks were provided, on which they were forced to ride, ſtill remaining handcuffed to their comrades. This piece of cruelty we pointed out both to the Bramin and Commandant; but only received for anſwer, that they had no orders from the Bahauder to take off their irons.——Whenever we approached near a village, tom-toms, a kind of drums, and winding collery horns, advanced in front, that the inhabitants might, by this diſcordant muſic, be aſſembled together to gaze at us, as we paſſed through. We ſuffered much, during our march, from the intenſe heat, as they would not travel in the night, but only in the day time, and that during the hotteſt part of it. The daily allowance which we received

was

was one ſmall ſheep, divided between us and the ſoldiers, in all forty-one perſons, one ſeer of rice each, with a little ſalt. In the villages through which we paſſed, ſome of the people would expreſs ſentiments of compaſſion, and ſuffer us to drink water, not indeed out of their veſſels, which would have been pollution, but out of their hands; while others would revile us, and pray that we might be put to the ſword without mercy. Such is the extreme difference of natural tempers.

Dec. 18. Arrived at Bangalore, and viſited by the Keeladar, who made us many flattering promiſes, but executed none.

23. About five in the evening arrived at Seringapatam, where we were led in triumph to Hyder's palace, ſurrounded by crowds of people, till near ſeven o'clock, during which time our names were taken down in writing by the Keeladar, and then ordered to a ſmall confined priſon, where we found Captains Baird, Wragg, Menteith; Lieutenants Lindſey, Maſſey, Chace, Turin; Enſigns Wilſon and Stringer. Our joy on this occaſion was great. We were allowed one gold fanam each per day, and a French ſurgeon to attend us (Monſieur Fortuno). The guards here conſiſted of two goloks, (civilians who

who acted as field deputies) two havaldars, twelve ſepoys, one duffadar, and twelve colleries, a lower claſs of ſoldiers. Our ſervants were allowed to attend the Bazzar morning and evening, and allowed by the Keeladar to purchaſe one bottle and two thirds of pia arrack, (a liquor diſtilled from the bark of a tree) weekly, for each gentleman, the amount of which was one fanam and eight dubs. The poor ſoldiers who accompanied us were ſent to a different priſon.

Enſign Gordon, who left Arnée the 4th of October, was amongſt the ſoldiers here, and in irons. Repeated applications were made to the Myar, or Town Major, to remove him to us, in vain: but at laſt, on our ſolemn aſſurances that he was an officer, his irons were taken off.

The following are the ſtages at which we halted, in our journey from Arnée to Seringapatam, with the intermediate diſtances:

	Coſs	Miles
From Arnée to Poloor*	6	13½
A deſerted villa	6	13½
Carry over	12	27

* This is a very pleaſant little village. We were lodged in the ruins of an old palace.

Chan-

	Cofs	Miles
Brought over	12	27
Changama	6	13
Chingerry Pett	6	13½
Matore	6	13½
Covey Patam *	5	11½
Ria Cotah	8	20
Taalcondah	4	10
Uffore †	4	10
Bangalore ‡	10	25
Kingerry Cotah	6	15
Ramgurry	8	20
Chenapatam §	4	10
Carry over	79	189

Che-

* This place is ſituated in the midſt of a beautiful and highly cultivated valley, and within ſight of the Kiſtna Gurry hills. We halted here a whole day, in order to have our clothes waſhed. The Keeladar, who came and ſmoaked his hooker with us, converſed familiarly, and expreſſed great compaſſion for our misfortunes.

† A pleaſant little town, ſurrounded by a ſtrong ſtone wall, with turrets, and ſituated in the midſt of extenſive paddy fields.

‡ This town is [illegible] ſix miles in circumference, well watered, interſp[illegible] pleaſant gardens and groves, and environed [illegible] and paſture lands of great fertility. It is ſurrounded by a ſtrong ſtone wall, and contains a pettah, encloſed within a mud wall.

§ At this place we were lodged under a gateway, on each ſide of which a gallery was conſtructed, ſupported by

	Coſs	Miles
Brought over	79	189
Guutall †	7	17½
Seringapatam	8	20
	94	226½

Each coſs is 2½ Engliſh Miles. Eng. Miles.

Dec. 23. Repeated applications have been made to the Keeladar for cots to ſleep on, but without ſucceſs. We are therefore neceſſitated to make uſe of ſtraw. The Keeladar will not even allow the door of the priſon to be kept open during the courſe of the day, in order to admit a little air, although we have often told him of the dangerous conſequences to be apprehended from its excluſion, and alſo informed him

two or three pillars. The ſoldiers were placed in one of theſe galleries, and the officers in another; which afforded a ſcene not more ſingular than ſatisfactory. For here we had an opportunity of converſing with the poor ſoldiers, as well as with Enſign Gordon, and indulging our curioſity, by putting a thouſand queſtions concerning their fate, and that of others. At parting, we had the pleaſure of contributing to their relief and comfort, by furniſhing them with a few cloaths and ſome tobacco.

† At Guutall we were lodged in a ſmall Choultry. Here we were permitted to go on the ramparts, and to ſurvey the country, which is very rich, highly cultivated, full of cocoa-nut trees, groves, fields abounding with grain, and well built and populous villages.

him that ſeveral gentlemen were very much indiſpoſed. To all our repreſentations and ſupplications we received for anſwer, that if any of us died, they would carry us out laſhed to a bamboo, for the prey of the tygers and jackalls.

1781.—Jan. 19. An head Bramin, belonging to the Circar, ordered us all to turn out of our births, and, after aſſembling us near his perſon, attempted to engage us in the ſervice of Hyder, with the flattering promiſes of great pay, horſes, palanquins, women, ſlaves, &c. On our refuſing to take ſervice, he ſaid, we were fine men, and that it grieved him to ſee us in that ſituation. He aſſured us, that when he invited us to take ſervice, it was not underſtood that we ſhould fight againſt our country; and that we were to do nothing but walk about at our pleaſure.

22. Received the following letter, brought in privately:

To Captain Wragg.

"Dear Friend,

"I Shall never forget you at Combitore. "You was my Enſign; you behaved yourſelf "to the Company honourably. I am ſorry to

"hear

" hear of your being priſoner. Pray be ſo good
" as to take in patience for two men, being
" twelve years priſoners in Seringapatam. The
" two men are Samuel Spencer and John Wil-
" ton, both London born. We were taken at
" Errod, in 1768. I hope your honour will be
" ſo good as to acquaint the Commander of
" Madras about us two captives, if God gives
" liberty for your honours to return back.

(Signed)

" SAMUEL SPENCER,
" JOHN WILTON."

Theſe two unfortunate men, as we learned afterwards, are by trade armourers. They have each of them five gold fanams a day, with two drams of arrack: but they have guards over them, and appear quite dejected. They are allowed to dreſs in the European ſtyle, but are very dirty.

Arrived Captain Menteith's ſervant from Arnée, and informed us of the fall of Fort Gingee, and the death of Lieutenant Knox.

29. Raiſed by ſubſcription, and ſent to Enſign Gordon, eight and a half pagodas.

Arrived

Arrived this afternoon, Captain Lucas and Enſign Macaulay; the latter taken at Gingee.

March 8. Arrived Lieutenant Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer: the two firſt of theſe gentlemen in irons, as they alſo had been during their journey from Arcot to this place, which is upwards of two hundred and forty Engliſh miles; they were lodged in a veranda, an open gallery, oppoſite to our priſon, at the diſtance of about two hundred yards. Arrived at the ſame time Mr. Skardon, reſident at Pondicherry, Mr. Brunton, late an Enſign in the Company's ſervice, and a Mr. Mac Neal, mate of a country ſhip: the two laſt ſent amongſt the ſoldiers, and Mr. Skardon to our priſon, with the daily allowance of ſix caſh, one ſear of rice, half a ſear of doll, and a little ghee: this allowance was poor indeed, but as we were on every occaſion ready with our ſmall pittance to aſſiſt our brother ſufferers, we made a monthly ſubſcription in order to put him on a level with us.

28. Viſited by the Keeladar, who behaved to us in a moſt contemptuous manner, refuſing to ſpeak but through an interpreter. He was very particular in examining our irons.

29. Ordered to be muſtered three times a day.

May 3. Viſited by a black Commandant, who played a game at cheſs with Captain Lucas; this game was brought from India into Europe. In India there are three kinds of cheſs: two of theſe are much more complex than the game of that name played in Europe. In one of them, the men, or figures, amount to ſixty; and the movements are proportionably various. It very ſeldom happens that an European is fit to contend with a native of India, whether Perſee, Gentoo, or Muſſulman. Captain Lucas was highly honoured by the Black men, on account of his ſkill in cheſs.

4. Several letters taken by the French doctor's ſervant for our friends in the Carnatic, requeſting a ſupply of money, and to know if there was any proſpect of peace.

10. The whole of us (except Captain Baird of the 73d) put in heavy irons; and the French ſurgeon ordered not to attend us. Each pair of irons was from eight to nine pound weight. This was the commencement of a deliberate ſyſtem, as afterwards more fully appeared, for cutting us off!—This a melancholy day.

20.

20. Arrived Lieutenant Coke, and put in irons. He was taken at Pandanalore, in the Tanjore country.

24. Lieutenant Turin's irons taken off, on account of a wound in his thigh.

June 4. In honour of his Majeſty's birth-day, we had for dinner fowl, cutlets, and a flour pudding, and drank his health in a chatty of ſherbet.

Aug. 6. Arrived priſoners, five Europeans, with a number of Carnatic ſlave boys and girls torn from our country.

Sept. 7. Mr. Chriſtie, ſerjeant of the Bengal detachment, arrived this afternoon. He belonged to Colonel Pearce's detachment, and was taken priſoner near Pulicat the 3d of Auguſt. Mr. Chriſtie, when it was diſcovered that he was not an officer, was on the 9th ſent among the ſoldiers. Favourable accounts received at this time of the ſpirited exertions of Mr. Haſtings diffuſe a general joy throughout the priſon.

10. Several gentlemens legs are found to be very much ſwelled on account of the weight of their irons. Repeated applications to the Keeladar to have them taken off, but without ſucceſs.

18.

18. A grand Gentoo feaſt, at which the King of Myſore was preſent, a lad about twelve years of age. This royal priſoner is allowed to appear in public only at this particular time. We were allowed, as a very particular favour, to indulge our curioſity with a ſight of his Majeſty.

Oct. 4. A ſepoy of our guard informs us, that ſixteen ſoldiers had been taken out of one of the priſons in Seringapatam and circumciſed, and that they intended to remove ſome of us for the ſame purpoſe.

28. This evening we ſaw the Europeans at exerciſe, and dreſſed in the Mahomedan faſhion, correſponding in number with the ſepoy's information.

Our ſervants, and thoſe who attended the ſoldiers, met together every day, in order to receive their daily allowance of rice. Hence we had an opportunity of correſponding with our fellow-captives in the different priſons by means of a rice cake, or hopper, and a cheroot or ſagar, which is ſome leaves of tobacco rolled up in the form of a tube ſo as to be ſmoaked without the aid of a pipe or any other inſtrument. One would aſk another if he would eat a bit of hopper. The perſon who offered this refreſhment took care to give that part of the cake which

contained the letter.---In like manner one would ask another for a ſagar : and the other, underſtanding the meaning of the requeſt, would give him what he wanted, if any intelligence was to be communicated : if not, he would perhaps ſay that he had none. In this manner we had an opportunity of interchanging ſentiments, of condoling with one another, and of contributing what little was in our power to the relief of thoſe who were in the greateſt want or diſtreſs. The conſolation we felt in this intercourſe of ſympathetic affection induced us even to encounter the danger of death ; for this moſt aſſuredly would have been our lot if our correſpondence had been diſcovered.

In one or other of the conveyances juſt deſcribed, received the following letter from Serjeant Hollingſworth.

"THIS morning I was informed of your being "deſirous to know in what manner the ſixteen "Europeans were ſeparated from us. On the "18th of September the head Myar with a Bra"min came to our priſon and ordered the Ser"jeant to call in the men, which was immediately "done without any ſuſpicion, and the above "Myar and Bramin ſingled out ſixteen of the "youngeſt, knocked off their irons, and marched them to the Keeladar, and then aſked if

"they

" they would take ſervice; when they all de-
" clared they would ſooner die than be bound to
" the ſervice of a tyrant. At ſun-ſet they were
" conducted, one by one, to a ſmall apartment,
" where an operator attended, with ſix caffres to
" hold them while they were circumciſed.----
" This was affirmed by them to Enſign Brunton."

Received the following letter, addreſſed to Captain Lucas and the officers in our priſon, from Serjeant Dempſter of the Bengal artillery, who voluntarily entered into the ſervice of Hyder, and who had once on a former occaſion deſerted from Colonel Pearce's detachment:

" Sir,

" YOUR ſervants caſting an eye to one of us
" ſome time ago, gives us reaſon to think that
" you would be deſirous to know ſomething of
" our preſent unheard-of and unfortunate ſitu-
" ation; not to be paralelled perhaps in the
" hiſtory or annals of any nation. On Wedneſ-
" day the 19th of September the Bramin and
" Myar came to our priſon, and after falling in
" the men, he ſelected ſixteen from the reſt,
" ſmiths being prepared to knock off their irons,
" without giving us the ſmalleſt idea of what
" was to enſue, and conducted us to the kutche-
" ree, where they informed us upon what ac-
" count we were releaſed, and in a very flatter-

" ing manner requeſted of us to take ſervice.
" All their promiſes and tenders were rejected
" with diſdain.---They then changed their ac-
" cent, and threatened us in the ſevereſt manner.
" We were then conducted to a large ſquare,
" the repoſitory or ſeminary of thoſe Carnatic
" boys that had been brought into ſlavery, whom
" you ſee every night at exerciſe. Upon our
" arrival there, how great was our ſurpriſe to
" find two Engliſh lads amongſt thoſe boys, who
" had been circumciſed three months before our
" arrival, one of whom is a Mr. Clarke, who had
" been an Enſign in the 2d battalion, 2d regi-
" ment; the other a private in the ſame regi-
" ment. They informed us immediately that
" we ſhould be circumciſed.---They had ſcarce
" finiſhed telling us this, when the guard came
" in, accompanied by a barber.* You, Sir, who
" have delicate feelings, will conceive what our
" ſituation was, dragged to what every Chriſ-
" tian in the univerſe utterly abhors, and ſur-
" rounded by enemies whoſe very ſouls are
" many thouſand times blacker than their vi-
" ſage. After ſome reſiſtance on the part of
" every one of us, we were obliged at laſt to ſit
" down and be ſhaved, after which we remained
" in the moſt cruel uncertainty for three or four
" hours,

* The Mahometans are always ſhaved all over before circumciſion.

" hours, when our ill-favoured guard brought us
" a doze of * majum each and obliged us to
" take it. It wrought differently. Some were
" inſenſible: others were not. A little after
" ſun-ſet, a black ſurgeon, with thirty or forty
" caffres, ſeized and held us while the operation
" was performed. We remained under cure for
" a month, upon ſix caſh per day, with mutton,
" rice, &c. The 30th of October, we were
" conducted to the kutcheree, and there ex-
" amined if we would take thoſe Carnatic ſlave
" boys and learn them their diſcipline, for which
" we ſhould receive each of us one gold fanam
" per day, with proviſions and cloaths; which
" we hope, in our preſent ſituation, you will not
" conſtrue into any diſaffection to our country
" or officers, it being all force and conſtraint.

" However, actuated by lively, and at the
" ſame time pungent ſorrow, that you in your
" preſent diſtreſſed ſituation, ſhould be a me-
" lancholy witneſs of thoſe men, who were ſo
" lately under your command, whoſe indul-
" gence and paternal care, particularly on the
" day of action, was ſecond to that of none;
" we humbly make bold to aſſure you, that
" ſcarce filial duty can be exceeded on our part,

* A ſtupifying drug.

" every man in the other priſon and here, being " at any time ready to lay down their lives to " reſcue you from the ſmalleſt harm. Our " fondneſs was the reaſon of our running this " hazard in writing, and moſt heartily and ſin- " cerely wiſhing to ſee you ſhortly releaſed, and " in a way of releaſing us unfortunate victims " from the chains of this barbarian.

(Signed)

" JOHN MAXWELL DEMPSTER.

" Once an Enſign in his Majeſty's 19th " regiment of foot, and late a Serjeant in " the Bengal artillery."

30. Duncan Macintoſh and Donald Stewart, privates, both of the 73d regiment, were forcibly taken out and circumciſed.

This day Captain Wragg received the following letter:

" Sir,

" After the many repeated favours I have " received at your hands, I think it my duty to " acquaint you of my preſent ſituation; that I " am unfortunately one of the men who were " taken out, and underwent the dreadful pain " of circumciſion.

(Signed)

" BENTALL WOODLEY."

Nov.

Nov. 10. Captain Baird put in irons.

11. A report prevails that our correſpondence with the different priſons is diſcovered, which gives the greateſt alarm. We proceed inſtantly to deſtroy or to conceal papers, knives, ſciſſars, razors, &c. This journal, which was written within a very ſmall compaſs, on a ſlip of Indian paper, in ſuch an hand as that in which innocent idlers write out the Lord's prayer within the circumference of a halfpenny, was concealed on this, as on other occaſions of alarm, which were not unfrequent, in a ſmall hole dug deep in the earthen floor of our priſon, carefully filled up and beaten into a perfect equality and reſemblance of the contiguous ſurface.

Having made repeated application for medicines for the ſick, we were informed that the ſtricteſt orders had been iſſued, that no medicines ſhould be adminiſtered to us by any perſon, under the pain of the moſt ſevere and ſhocking mutilation. We had not come there to live, we were told; and that nothing could be more acceptable to the Nabob than the news of our death. Theſe melancholy tidings had a viſible effect on the minds of the gentlemen who were indiſpoſed. Cut off from all hope of relief, but that alone which might poſſibly ariſe from

the unaſſiſted efforts of nature, they began to droop and deſpond exceedingly. We repeated and preſſed our ſolicitations for medicines to no purpoſe. The ſentries to whom we applied, declared, that they would willingly bring in ſome, if they could do it with ſafety; but that their orders were expreſs, and that their ears, noſes, and right hands, muſt pay the forfeiture of diſobedience.

Received the following letter from Enſign Clarke:

"Gentlemen,

"I was this day, to my great ſurprize, accoſted by one of your ſervants, who informed "me, calling me by name, that the officers in "general were ſurprized at having received no "letter from me in particular. I can only ſay, "that the privates in general were unwilling to "deliver any letter from me, without ſeeing "the contents. I might complain of the manner they have behaved ſome time ſince their "arrival here; which has indeed been ſuch, as "ſhewed they were happy to have it in their "power to inſult any one who had been of a "rank ſuperior to themſelves with impunity. "However, it is wrong to mention any thing of

"this

" this kind, as I am at preſent in a ſituation ſo " very diſagreeable in many reſpects, that any " one thing is ſcarce worth mentioning, even " were it likely, on my complaints, to be reme- " died.

" I arrived at Madras in January, 1781, in a " ſtyle ſuperior to that of the reſt of the cadets " in general, having been two years an Enſign " and Lieutenant in the militia, and of courſe " being uſed to a very expenſive way of living, " together with a careleſſneſs for money, and " lending to too many who had no proſpect " of being able to pay me. Notwithſtanding " this, I was largely ſupplied by General Mun- " ro, to whom I was particularly recommended, " and at whoſe houſe I lived at Madras, as well " as to Mr. Mawbrey, who was very much my " friend, and two or three others. I ſoon fell " into debt to ſuch a degree, as obliged me to " think of going to camp, or ſome where elſe, " in order to get out of the reach of the Mayor's " Court: for which purpoſe I applied to the " Governor, who told me, that as ſoon as a ſhip " ſailed for Cuddalore, where our army then " lay, I might go. But as there was danger in " waiting ſo long, I ſet off for camp on horſe- " back, leaving directions with a boy, to ſend " my things as ſoon as poſſible. I arrived ſafe

" at

"at Pondicherry, where, when at dinner at a "French tavern, I was made priſoner, and that "evening ſent to Meer Saib's, one of Hyder's "Generals, camp, ſince killed. Next morning, "after I arrived at Pondicherry, I was offered "three hundred rupees per month, and again at "Meer Saib's camp, if I would take ſervice, "which I again and again refuſed. I ſtaid a "ſhort time in the camp of Meer Saib, and was "afterwards ſent under a guard of two haval-"dars and ſix ſepoys to Hyder's camp, then ly-"ing near Tanjore, commanded by Colonel "Braithwaite. Two days after my arrival, I "was taken before the Nabob, who aſked me "the uſual queſtions; to all which I profeſſed "ignorance, alledging, that my ſhort ſtay at "Madras, and my ſtation, I having been ap-"pointed Enſign in the 2d battalion of 2d regi-"ment, commanded by Major Hopkins, pre-"vented my having any inſight into the manage-"ment of affairs at Madras. The next day we "marched to Trichinopoly, where I underſtood "he was to lay for ſome time. In a few days "after, good God! what was my ſurprize, to "be ſent for by the commandant of the batta-"lion, with which I was confined, and then in-"formed it was Hyder's deſire that I ſhould em-"brace Mahomedaniſm. I refuſed, notwith-"ſtanding the moſt dreadful threats, and moſt

"alluring

"alluring promiſes, to conſent to a thing ſo "much my abhorrence. The next day, my "uſual allowance of rice was brought; but on "aſking for the three pice, my daily pittance, I "was informed it was ſtopped, till I agreed to "the propoſal of yeſterday, of becoming a pro-"ſelyte. I was a little ſhocked, but reſolved "to perſevere, till ſome relief or other ſhould "come. On the ſecond day after this, I re-"ceived no rice at all, nor the two next days. "Being now almoſt worn out, not having taſted "any food, except a little rice which the ſepoys "afforded, I with my tongue conſented to a "thing which my heart abhorred. On this I "received my former allowance, and what had "been ſtopped the ſeveral days foregoing. I "ſhortly after marched to Seringapatam, in the "moſt horrid deſpondence of mind. On my "arrival here, I was queſtioned with regard to "my knowledge of the exerciſe, which I ſaid I "knew nothing of: but on the appearance of "a chaubuc, or horſewhip, I ſoon went through "the manual to the ſatisfaction of the two My-"ars. I was then queſtioned with regard to my "having conſented to embrace their damned "religion, which I denied. However, I was "ſoon, from the ſecond appearance of the chau-"buc and the recollection of former uſage, in-"duced to ſpeak my conſent, though on my ar-

"rival

"rival at the boys you daily ſee, and being aſked "if I would teach them your exerciſe, I refuſed, "ſaying, I had refuſed to take ſervice, or be- "come a Muſſulman, and that I would rather "do both, or even die, than teach others to "fight againſt my country, which in my idea "was worſe than either. I was then removed "to the priſon where I now am, and found a "European of the name of Smith, of the 2d "battalion 2d regiment, in as miſerable a ſitu- "ation as any to which a man could be reduced "by vermin, dirty cloaths, bed, &c. The ſe- "cond night after my arrival, I was made a "Muſſulman. About three months after my ar- "rival, I was very much ſurprized one morn- "ning to ſee a ſet of young men very cleanly "dreſſed, brought for the ſame dreadful ope- "ration of which I had lately recovered. That "night they were circumciſed after the uſual "doſe of majum had been adminiſtered: what "enſued with regard to them you have received "from them before. I had forgot to mention, "that at firſt the uſual allowance of mutton, "ghee, &c. was very great, but that we had "only three caſh per day. However, on their "arrival we had ſix, and afterwards one gold "fanam.

"I have

"I have done all in my power to prevail on "them to refuſe going to exerciſe. Though I "was tied up twice to be flogged, I would not "go on any account. The uſage of the privates "towards me has been moſt raſcally, which, to- "gether with other things, makes it my daily "wiſh to die, and has almoſt tempted me more "than once to lay violent hands on myſelf. I "hope ſoon, however, and have very good "reaſon to expect, that in a ſhort time the ar- "rival of our army will at once put an end to "our confinement and Mahomedaniſm. My "having confeſſed many things againſt myſelf, "which otherwiſe could never have appeared, "is a ſufficient proof that I ſcorn to palliate "any part of my offence or miſconduct by a lie.

"I am, my dear brother officers, if my folly "has not forfeited my right to call you by ſo "dear a name, your affectionate ſufferer,

"HENRY GEORGE JAMES JENNINGS CLARKE."

Viſited by a head man, or man of conſequence from the Durbar, who enquired very affectionately after our health, and if we were in want of any thing. He took his leave with great promiſes of friendſhip; but he executed none.

Received

Received a chit, or note, from Colonel Baillie, offering us two hundred and fifty gold fanams.

The caſh received from head quarters (ſo we called Colonel Baillie's priſon) when each gentleman received ten fanams.

1782.—Jan. 4. Arrived priſoners, three Europeans, with a number of Carnatic children.

5. Fourteen Europeans taken out and circumciſed.

6. A Circar Bramin viſited us, and in a very peremptory manner ordered us to fall in; and we had reaſon to ſuſpect he came to ſingle ſome of us out for his diabolical purpoſe.

18. Serjeant Higgins, of Captain Powell's battalion, voluntarily took ſervice. This he did with an intention, which he afterwards found means of carrying into effect, to make his eſcape to his wife, whom he had lately married.

Received a letter from Enſigns Brunton and Gordon, informing us, that they are threatened by the Bramin with being made Muſſulmen, and that they intend ſome of us for the ſame purpoſe.

26. Enſigns

26. Enſigns Brunton and Gordon, with one hundred ſoldiers, removed to Shittle-Droog: the ſoldiers hand-cuffed, two and two.

27. Very much alarmed by the appearance of a Circar Bramin, who ordered the whole of us to turn out. His orders being complied with, he looked ſtedfaſtly at ſix of the ſtouteſt, and then ſaid to a man who ſtood near him, theſe ſix will do. The ſix were, Captains Baird and Wragg; Lieutenants Lindſey, Bowſer, Coke; and Enſign Macaliſter.

Feb. 24. Purſa Rama, Colonel Baillie's boy, was detected in carrying contraband goods to his maſter; the boy was put in irons and removed to the ſoldiers.

28. A number of ſepoys, who were taken priſoners in a ſally at Trichinopoly, and ſent here, have, on account of their cruel treatment, taken ſervice. The few who have not conſented, are chained two and two, with the daily allowance of one ſear of raggee (a poor ſmall grain) and three caſh.

March 17. Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer's irons taken off.

18. A corps of Carnatic ſlaves, taken ſince the commencement of the war, and diſciplined by

by Serjeant Dempſter, with the other European Muſſulmen, marched to join an army to be led againſt Calicut, where we had ſome troops.

Abdiel Wahab (Mahomed-Ally's brother) who was taken priſoner at Chitteput, and ſent priſoner here, allowed for himſelf and family, conſiſting of ſeventy perſons, one thouſand rupees per month; his eldeſt ſon remains at Arcot with Hyder.

Enſign Macaulay ſent his ſhoe buckles to the Keeladar, in order to obtain his leave to diſpoſe of them, that he might raiſe a few fanams. The buckles detained by the Keeladar.

26. Arrived priſoners this evening a number of Europeans, and lodged in a veranda near our priſon. Their number, rank, and the place where they were taken, we have not been able to learn.

Viſited by the Myar, who, after reconnoitring our priſon, ordered the cook-room to be cleaned out, for the unfortunate people who arrived yeſterday. We hear the ſound of the armourers employed in putting on their irons. Various are our conjectures where they have been taken. However, we at preſent flatter ourſelves that they may only be the officers ſeparated from us in Hyder's camp, and ſent to Bangalore.

Two

Two of our ſervants removed to Colonel Baillie. A letter ſent to the ſoldiers.

Abdiel Wahab ſent us word, that Hyder meant to force Colonel Baillie, and the reſt of the officers, to enter into his ſervice.

The priſoners that had been lodged in the veranda were brought in here this evening: ſeventeen European officers, one ſurgeon, and one black commandant. They are the officers of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, and fell into the hands of Tippoo Saib, in the Tanjore country, the 18th of February, 1782, about forty miles from Tanjore. During the time they were with Tippoo Saib, he paid them every attention that was neceſſary. He not only furniſhed them with cloaths and money, but at the ſame time gave ſtrict orders to all his Keeladars, to be attentive to them during their march to Hyder's camp, who was then lying at Conjeveram. But on their arrival at this place, their money, and every other little thing they had, was taken from them; and they were told, that if they concealed the moſt trifling article, their noſe and ears would be cut off. The next day, a few piah horſes were provided for their journey; but many of them were obliged to walk the whole way, with the daily allowance of ſix or ſeven ſears of rice, with a little ſalt, amongſt the

whole. Colonel Braithwaite and Enſign Holmes remain in Hyder's camp. We are informed that our army is lying near Madras, for want of carriage bullocks, and that it was believed a French fleet had paſſed Pulicat.

Theſe circumſtances aggravated the melancholy gloom that had long hung over the place of our confinement.

The following is a liſt of the killed and wounded of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, taken by Tippoo Saib, on the 18th of February, 1782.

Names.	Killed.	Wounded.
Colonel Braithwaite -		1
Captain Judſon -		
Lieut. Lind -		
Eaſtland -		
Gillon -		1
Sampſon -		1
Cameron -		1
Enſign Graham -		1
Loy -		1
Gahagan -		
Kennet -		1
Macaulay -		
Thewlis -		1
Fenwick -		
Holmes -		1
Carry over		9

Names.	Killed.	Wounded.
Brought over -		9
Enſign Haywood -		1
Stewart -	1	
Mr. White, ſurgeon		
Lieut. Bowles } Nabob's Service.		
Latcliff } Nabob's Service.		
Clowman } Nabob's Service.		1
	1	11

April 9. Captain Baird's irons taken off, on account of ſickneſs.

Arrived priſoner, one European officer; but no further account.

10. Lieutenant Lind, at the point of death, is allowed, with the utmoſt difficulty, to have his irons taken off.

12. Lieutenant Coke's irons were taken off, by means of a bribe to the Verduvalla, a military officer non-commiſſioned, about the rank of a Serjeant-major.

15. The dead body of Lieutenant Lind, who died yeſterday, laſhed to a bamboo, was

carried out on the ſhoulders of three men. We all of us ſtood around the body of our departed friend, while Mr. Skardon read the funeral ſervice.

May 9. Viſited by the Myar, who enquired in a moſt preſſing manner, if there were any carpenters or ſmiths amongſt us. We replied, that we were all gentlemen. He did not ſeem ſatisfied with this anſwer; but deſired the Commandant, Sid Abrim, to make particular enquiry, and inform him the next viſit he ſhould make, as the Keeladar meant to take ſome of us out.

15. An order arrives from Hyder for our ſervants to diſcontinue going to the Bazar. Henceforth our guards are our market-men, who cheat us moſt unmercifully.

31. Enſign Graham's irons taken off, on account of ſickneſs.

June 4. In honour of his Majeſty's birth-day, we have celebrated it with a pilaw, and drank his health in ſherbet.

17. Viſited by the Myar. He enquired for a cavalry officer of the name of Galeet, who, he ſaid, belonged to Colonel Baillie's detachment. There was no ſuch perſon.

19. Arrived priſoners, fourteen European children, eight boys and ſix girls. It is reported that they were taken at Cuddalore.

22. Mr. Hope's irons taken off, on account of ſickneſs.

28. Captain Lucas and Enſign Maconichy's irons taken off, on account of ſickneſs.

Lieutenant Gillon, and Enſigns Thewlis and Latcliff are put in irons.

29. Repeated applications have been made to the Keeladar for medicine, and for the French Doctor to attend thoſe gentlemen who are at preſent in a dangerous way: but the cruel tyrant will neither order nor allow the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. Thoſe who are fortunate enough to enjoy a good ſtate of health attend the ſick in the night.

July 5. At half paſt eight, P. M. died Captain Lucas, brother to the celebrated patriot of that name in England. The Captain's death was bitterly lamented by the whole priſon. He was diſtinguiſhed by good natural talents as well as acquired accompliſhments. In his manners he was unaſſuming, amiable, and engaging: and

the chearfulneſs and vivacity of his temper, which were expreſſed in lively ſongs and facetious ſallies, ſcattered frequent rays of mirth on our gloomy manſion.

7. At three o'clock, A. M. died Mr. Hope, a Cadet in the Company's ſervice.

9. About twelve, A. M. died Enſign Maconichy.

As Mr. White, Colonel Braithwaite's Surgeon, was unacquainted with the ſimples and compoſitions uſed as medicines in this country, and was deprived of his own cheſt of medicines, the arrival of that gentleman amongſt us, (againſt whoſe profeſſional abilities this ought not certainly to be conſidered, and is not intended, as any inſinuation) in the character of a fellow-priſoner, did not avail us. We therefore continued to be our own phyſicians, and to uſe thoſe medicines, with whoſe powers ſeveral of us had become acquainted in the courſe of a long reſidence, in various ſtations and ſituations in India. The natives of this country, in which nature is very powerful and luxuriant, and where maxims and obſervations are accumulated and handed down from generation to generation, from very remote antiquity, are undoubtedly acquainted with

with many medicinal properties of herbs and fruits, and other ſimples, unknown to European nations. It is generally known, that the practice of inoculating for the ſmall-pox is common in all Aſiatic countries. But there is an art in Hindoſtan, not yet known in Europe, by which the women effectually prevent all traces of the ſmall-pox on the faces of their little ones. This preſervative is compoſed of a ſalve made of certain Indian herbs, and a certain kind of oil, which they apply the moment the pock begins to blacken. It does not appear, that any of the Company's Surgeons have ever enquired, or at leaſt enquired with ſucceſs, into the nature of this preparation. That the Hindoos, however, know how to ſave their ſkins from the ravages of the ſmall-pox, is a fact which cannot be doubted. On the ſubject of Hindoo ſurgery and phyſic, another well-atteſted fact may be mentioned, which is attended with the happieſt effects. When any perſon happens to receive a bruiſe or wound in any part of his body, by a fall or blow, or otherwiſe, thoſe who are neareſt to him, preſently ſtrip off the greater part of his cloaths, and, with the palms of their hands, gently rub the afflicted part, or if that is not to be touched, the parts neareſt to it; and proceeding from that ſpot, rub over, with greater force, the whole of the body. This good office is ge-

nerally performed by the women, who are indeed the ſurgeons and phyſicians of this country, and who handle their patients with all the eaſy addreſs of the moſt experienced member of the faculty in Europe.

It was from the natives of India, that the Engliſh, at Madras, learned the qualities of the junglicarandee, or what are commonly called by our ſoldiers Jack Spratt's Nuts, three of which will operate as an emetic, with very ſalutary effects. Caſſia, jaggeree, and tamarinds, were the *Materia Medica* of our cathartics. Theſe materials, with ſome quickſilver, which we formed into pills and ointments, we were obliged to introduce by ſtealth, by means of handſome rewards to individuals belonging to our guards; for, as has already been obſerved, all medicines were prohibited by the Keeladar, under the ſevereſt threats.

13. Arrived priſoners, five hundred Carnatic boys, in order to be made ſlaves, and to be entered into Hyder's ſlave battalions. We hear the French have taken ſome of our ſhips, and given up the priſoners to Hyder.

26. Lieutenant Sampſon put in irons.

A chit,

A chit, or note, is received from Colonel Baillie, requeſting ſome mercurial pills. He ſays, they have not the ſmalleſt idea, why their irons were taken off. The pills ſent.

30. Arrived priſoners, three European officers, two privates, as alſo a mate of a country ſhip.

Aug. 10. One of our officers ſtruck by a centinel, for attempting to look out at the priſon door.

13. Lieutenant Coke and Enſign Graham put in irons.

Lieutenant Lindſey's irons taken off, on account of ſickneſs.

The French, we hear from every quarter, have made over three hundred ſeamen, and others, whom they had taken priſoners, to Hyder; and that the French Admiral received from Hyder, on that account, fifty thouſand rupees. This was publicly affirmed at the Keeladar's Durbar; but it is given merely as a report.

Sept.

Sept. 22. We are informed that Colonel Baillie is in a dangerous way; yet that the Keeladar will not allow him a phyſician to attend him, nor even aſſiſt him with medicines, although many applications have been made to him for that purpoſe.

Arrived priſoners, three hundred Carnatic boys.

Oct. 13. The whole of us have offered one hundred and twenty thouſand rupees for our enlargement; and not to ſerve againſt Hyder during the war. No anſwer.

18. Arrived priſoners, ſeven Europeans.

26. A letter taken charge of by one of the guard, to the ſoldiers priſon, with a proposal, an anſwer is received by us, to give [illegible] pagodas. Subſcribed one fanam each for the purpoſe.

30. Arrived forty Europeans, part of thoſe men that were given up by the French. They have been circumciſed.

Nov. 2. Arrived priſoners, eight hundred Carnatic boys and girls.

10.

10. A ſepoy has undertaken to carry a letter to the circumciſed Europeans.

13. Received the melancholy news of Colonel Baillie's death.

This melancholy event excited painful reflections on the uncertainty of proſperity and of fame, both of which are greatly under the controul of fortune. Colonel Baillie poſſeſſed great vigour both of body and mind, being of a middling ſtature, well and firmly made, and animated on all occaſions, with calm and ſteady reſolution. Before the unfortunate day that conſigned him to a confinement, from which he was deſtined never to eſcape, he uniformly bore the character of an officer enterprizing, brave, and judicious. As his merit and rank had rendered him an object of terror to the conqueror before he fell into his hands, ſo he became an object of barbarous reſentment afterwards, and was treated accordingly, with unuſual and marked ſeverity. In the enemy's camp, he was ſeparated from his fellow-priſoners, the Captains Rumley and Frazer, and thrown into irons even on his journey to Seringapatam from Arcot. On his arrival, on his way to the capital of Hyder, at Bangalore, five guns were fired in order to aſſemble the people to inſult his misfortunes.

And

And during the whole courſe of his illneſs, he received not the leaſt comfort or aſſiſtance from the advice of any phyſician.

Arrived priſoners, one European, with three hundred Carnatic boys.

Received the following from Lieutenants Speediman and Rutlidge.

"WE were yeſterday agreeably ſurpriſed by "receiving a letter from you, which has been "our conſtant wiſh ſince we have been here, and "are extremely obliged to you for the trouble "you undoubtedly muſt have had in forwarding "it, having made many attempts of that kind "ourſelves, but never could ſucceed—but par-"ticularly for the concern you feel on our ac-"count, and the promiſes you make us of re-"preſenting our ſituation to thoſe in whoſe "power it will be to extricate us out of this af-"flicting ſituation.

"You have requeſted us to relate to you the "particulars of our ill fortune, and alſo to an-"ſwer ſome queſtions, which you have ſet down, "both of which we will readily comply with, "as far as lies in our power. We are ſorry we "cannot give you as ſatisfactory an account as

"pro-

" probably you might expect, being wounded in " January laſt, and left in Vellore: but what " news we ſend is what we got from Enſign " Byrne, who came up to Vellore in June, with " one company of ſepoys, three three-pounders, " and a good many polygars, with proviſions for " the garriſon; and we, being anxious to join " the army, left Vellore to go back with him: " but we had not quitted the place above eigh- " teen hours, when Tippoo Saib's whole force " came down upon us. We fought them for " ſome time: then the polygars left the Com- " pany's troops in a mob, with what intention " God knows; but Tippoo's troops cut in " among them. What eſcaped the ſword were " made priſoners. In this ſituation, deſerted " by thoſe people, moſt of our ſepoys being " wounded, and our ammunition nearly expend- " ed, we hoiſted a white handkerchief for quar- " ter, which they granted immediately, and we " were made priſoners by a French officer. Byrne " was made priſoner by a black Commandant. " While we remained in Tippoo's camp, we " were very well uſed; but when we arrived at " his father's we had reaſon to repent the ex- " change, receiving only a meaſure of rice and " one pice a day. We however continued with him five days, the laſt of which, in the evening, " we were ſent for by Hyder's Dewan, who or- " dered Mr. Byrne only in irons, but both of us

" to

" be put in with a parcel of ſmall boys, along
" with whom we found Serjeant-major Groves,
" of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment. Next
" morning, about two o'clock we marched for
" Seringapatam. After four or five days march
" we were overtaken by Byrne, and Lieutenant
" Crewitzer of the cavalry, who, with a troop
" belonging to the grand guard near Arnée,
" were cut off, which is probably what has been
" repreſented to you as a regiment of cavalry,
" there having been no other accident of the
" kind. We were a good deal ſurpriſed to
" find that Byrne and we were bound for diffe-
" rent places; but never gueſſed their horrid
" intentions with regard to us, until our arrival
" at Seringapatam, when, inſtead of being put
" amongſt you, we were marched with the boys
" into a large ſquare building, about a mile eaſt-
" ward of the Fort, in the new village of Gun-
" jam Pett, where we found nine Europeans,
" and were rendered almoſt ſpeechleſs when
" they told us, that they were all made Muſſul-
" men againſt their inclinations, and that it was
" moſt probable we ſhould ſhare the ſame fate:
" we now found ourſelves in a moſt miſerable
" ſituation, as different parties, from the guard
" that was over us, were coming every hour of
" the day, ſometimes making great promiſes if
" we would conſent to be circumciſed; and, at

" others,

" others, with drawn ſwords, chaubucks, and " ropes ready to tie us; the barber in the rear " ready to ſhave our heads. This method they " continued ſeven or eight days; but finding " both their threats and promiſes equally ineffectual, they took another method to make us " conſent, by ſeparating us, and allowing no one " to ſpeak to us. But finding that this method " had as little effect as the others, the Jemmidar " took compaſſion on us, and wrote to Hyder " in our behalf. During the time we waited " for an anſwer, we imagined they had dropt " their infamous intentions, and daily expected " to be ſent to you. This interval of hope, " however, proved to be but a dream, which " was effectually broken on the 27th of Auguſt, " by the appearance of ten or twelve ſtout fellows, with chaubucks in their hands, and as " many caffres with ropes to tie us with. They " made no ceremony, but ſeized, tied us, cut off " our hair, and then walked away, like villains " that had been bred up to ſuch buſineſs, and " left us to lament our hard fate.

" Sept. 1. The ſame villains again made " their appearance, ſeized and tied us as before, " and ſtood over us while they obliged us to eat " a ſort of ſtuff called majum, which nearly diveſted us of our ſenſes, and, in the ſame even-

" ing,

" ing, they accompliſhed their vile deſign.
" During the time we were with them, we
" would take nothing from them but rice, nor
" would we permit them to take off our irons,
" which they often offered to do, leaſt they
" ſhould imagine that we were contented with
" our ſituation. We receive a gold fanam a day,
" and are obliged to drill a number of boys ſent
" from the Carnatic to be circumciſed, and
" kept in theſe ſquares. Thank God, what
" they know will never do the Company any
" harm.

Received the 18th
Nov. 1782.

(Signed)
" JAMES SPEEDIMAN,
" RICHARD RUTLIDGE."

Received the following letter from Serjeant Dempſter:

" Gentlemen,

" YOUR notes I received. Meſſrs. Speedi-
" man and Rutlidge have ſo fully anſwered your
" ſeveral queſtions, concerning the preſent war
" ſubſiſting between the Company and Hyder,
" that any thing I could add would be no more
" than mere repetition. If I don't miſtake,

" how-

" however, they have omitted to make mention " of any thing appertaining to a peace. Such " a thing is not talked of; and from what I " have collected from a Serjeant who arrived " here a few days ago, who has ſhared the fate " common to the reſt of us here, it ſeems, that " things don't wear any tolerable complexion, " all owing to the arrival of the French."

Received the following liſt of captives from the midſhipmen taken by Monſieur Suffrein, and given up to Hyder-Alley-Cawn:

" Hannibal, of 50 guns, February 14, 1782; " Meſſrs. Leſage, Auſtin, and Drake, midſhip- " men. The Chacer, of 18 guns, February " 14; no officer here. The Rake tranſport, " June 6, off the Cape; Mr. Wilkinſon, mid- " ſhipman. The Reſolution, June 9; Mr. Heid- " deman, maſter's mate. The Yarmouth, and " Fortitude, Company's ſhips, June 27; no of- " ficer.

" The number of men belonging to all the " ſhips here are forty-four, and officers belong- " ing to the King's ſervice, five.—In February, " the French fleet came on the coaſt, conſiſting " of twelve ſail of the line; and the Engliſh of " nine. They had an action the 17th of Fe-

"bruary, which laſted three hours and an half;
"and on the 12th of April, the Engliſh, of
"eleven ſail, and the French of twelve, engaged
"near Trincomallée for five hours and a half;
"the French much damaged: and, on the 28th
"of June, they engaged off Cuddalore, with the
"ſame ſhips as before, for two hours: one
"French ſixty-four ſtruck, but ſhe was covered
"by her own ſhips; another ſixty-four diſ-
"maſted. The Engliſh have drove the French
"off the coaſt.

"On the 30th of June the French ſent all the
"priſoners aſhore at Cuddalore, and delivered
"them into the hands of Hyder, and marched
"us into Chillumbrum.—The 12th of Auguſt
"they marched us to Bangalore; on the 20th
"of October they picked out all the youngeſt
"of the men and officers, and marched us to
"Seringapatam; and, on the 7th of November,
"they ſhaved our heads, and on the 10th they
"made us Muſſulmen. Since we have been
"here they have given us ſome dungeree, or
"coarſe cloth, and mats to ſleep on.

"The 7th of November the Myar came to
"us juſt before they ſhaved our heads, and told
"us that we were never to be releaſed, but to
"be kept here, and to be as the Nabob's ſons,

"which

" which makes us very unhappy, thinking we " ſhall never ſee our native country any more; " but when you are exchanged, we hope that " you will make our caſe known to our fellow- " ſubjects. We are all exceedingly ſorry to " hear of Colonel Baillie's death. Mr. Auſtin " would be glad to hear from you, if it is agree- " able. We have here amongſt the ſufferers— " Meſſrs. Leſage, Wilkinſon, Auſtin, Drake, " and Heideman—Midſhipmen."

Lieutenant Maſſey and Doctor White's irons taken off, on account of ſickneſs.

Nov. 1. Account of a treaty of peace being on foot in the Carnatic, but on account of the arrival of ſome French troops, with the King of France's picture for Hyder, it was broken off.

Received the following journal from Serjeant Dempſter, which had been ſent to him from ſome of the unfortunate Europeans, dated March 14, 1782.

" Aſſembled at Seringapatam, under the com- " mand of Buffadar Cawn, Jemmidar, who re- " ceived the chaylacks (Carnatic boys circum- " ciſed and made ſlaves) from Seatibie Jemmi- " dar, beſide the chaylack battalion, twelve hun-

" dred horſe, three battalions of ſepoys, with
" firelocks of about five hundred men, eight
" gunners, twelve laſcars, four rocket-boys,
" one man with a bow and arrows, three thou-
" ſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five Polygars
" with pikes, matchlocks, &c. total, five thou-
" ſand, and our artillery park, of four three-
" pounders, iron. When our camp is pitched,
" 'tis all of a cluſter, about twenty tents, an old
" marqui, and one thouſand huts.

" Agreeably to Seatibie's orders, our victuals
" were cooked with the Commandant's and Su-
" badar's. However, they ſoon ſhook off that
" incumbrance, and put us on the footing of the
" ſlave boys. This evening they had taken the
" currey pot away, and we had been waiting for
" it a conſiderable time: but they not ſerving
" themſelves, Green and Woodley ſeized it,
" and ran off with it, and we ſerved ourſelves,
" to the great mortification of the Commandant,
" Subadars, and Myars, who ſwore they would
" be revenged on all the Fringees next day.

" 15. Marched to Myſore; the old Com-
" mandant, agreeably to his vow of revenge
" of yeſterday, orders the ſlave-boys rice to be
" cooked for us: but we all refuſed it, Higgins
" excepted. The Commandant went to the

" Jemmi-

" Jemmidar and informed him that we had
" been drinking arrack: whereupon we were
" made priſoners, two and two, and put under
" centinels of an out battalion, our ſwords being
" taken from us. About midnight they ſent
" us ſome good rice. The next day they re-
" leaſed us, and gave us back our ſwords. An
" order iſſued to deter us from buying arrack
" and toddy.

" 17. Arrived at a fort where we received a
" reinforcement of one thouſand Polygars from
" Shittle-Droog: halted three days and left two
" guns behind us.

" 22. Entered into very thick woods. After
" marching eight miles within the woods, the
" Polygars in front were ſurpriſed by about
" eighty of the enemy, the Niars, by the Moors
" called Nimars, a ſet of people formerly ſub-
" dued by Hyder, but now in a ſtate of rebel-
" lion. Of this caſt is our Commandant and
" two of our Subadars. They diſcharged a
" few matchlocks and arrows at the Polygars,
" who came running back with their uſual
" bravery. However, they were beat back
" again to the attack with large bamboos and
" clubs, by the Verduvalla belonging to the
" chaylacks. On this a ſmall ſkirmiſh enſued;

" and as the chaylacks advanced, the Engliſh
" drum beat, which cauſed the enemy to retreat
" to the woods. Seven of the enemy were
" taken, one of whom was hanged on a tree,
" and ten killed. Halted at this place two
" days.

" 25. Marched about twelve miles, and
" came upon about three hundred of the enemy
" A ſkirmiſh of about a quarter of an hour hap-
" pened, in which five of them were killed and
" four taken. We had three killed and wounded.
" The enemy ſet off to the woods.

" 26. In our march took three Niars, who
" gave information of the enemy being poſted
" in a large village to the right. Upon our
" arrival there, we found that the enemy had
" fled. An alarm happened here about mid-
" night: it was a falſe one: however, our
" troops were very much frightened.

" 27. The Niars taken yeſterday were
" hanged.

" The Europeans were put under centinels to
" their companies, on which account we re-
" fuſed doing duty, and gave up our ſwords;
" for which Higgins was bound with his hands
" behind

" behind him all day.—Smith, Innwood, and
" Clements beat with rattans, and in the even-
" ing after we encamped, we were all tied in
" one rope, and ordered to be beat: however
" we received our ſwords and were releaſed.

" 28. Arrived at a ſmall mud fort, in which
" were three hundred of the enemy. They
" fired a few ginjauls, a long kind of guns,
" made of bar iron bound by hoops, of which
" they had twenty, at our mob: and early in
" the morning they quitted the fort and eſcaped.
" At day-light, our people entered it: halted
" here twenty days: parties ſent out daily, and
" brought in priſoners, ſome of whom were
" hanged, others diſcharged, after paying a fine
" of their noſes, ears, or left hands.

" April 4. About five hundred of the ene-
" my in ſight. The troops being formed for
" battle, and the enemy amongſt the buſhes
" in front, they fired at them from the three-
" pounders, and afterwards advanced, and pla-
" tooned with ſmall arms. The enemy fired
" pretty warmly ſeveral times, but being cloſe
" purſued by our mob, they made off to the
" woods; how many were killed of them is
" unknown. Nine heads brought in to the Jem-

" midars. Thus ended the affair with the Niars " for this time.

" April 18. We marched out of this woody " country, and, on the twenty-firſt, arrived at a " fort, called Goondull.—N. B. Greens, an old " Subadar, was convicted before the Jemmidar " of endeavouring to perſuade the chaylacks to " leave the guns, and go to the Niars, being " one himſelf; he was tied to a poſt, and re- " duced to a private ſepoy, but is excuſed all " duty by his brother Niar, the old Comman- " dant.

" 23. Arrived at the fort we had left on " the twenty-third of March. The Jemmidar " ordered a ſepoy to be beat in a barbarous " manner by four men with large bamboos, and " then to be dragged round the camp, on his " belly, by ſix men, for cutting his wife with " his ſword in two or three places.

" 24. Arrived at a fort, called Perripatam, " and halted five days.

" May 1. Marched to a village called Citty " Pore, near which was the ruins of a ſmall " fort, which had been poſſeſſed by the Cora- " kees, a ſet of people formerly ſubdued, but

" who

" who had afterwards rebelled, deſtroyed the
" fort and fled. The country here is woody,
" and the Niar country diſtant from Perripatam
" twenty miles.

" 2. Arrived on a plain, where a Corakee
" Rajah joined our mob, with three hundred of
" his men, armed with matchlocks and brod
" knives: proceeded on till we came to a ſmall
" fort built with large timber, in which were
" two hundred and fifty Corakees: ſome of our
" troops were detached, with three companies
" of chaylacks to fire muſquetry at it, under co-
" ver of a high bank, which was not of the
" leaſt ſervice; the other chaylack company
" ſtaid in the rear for a body guard to the Com-
" mander in Chief. The enemy behaved obſti-
" nately and reſolutely. Although they had no
" guns, they fired very hot from the ginjauls
" and matchlocks, of which our three pound
" balls ſcarcely pierced the timber. At night we
" drew off to encamp, after firing about eight
" thouſand muſquet balls. During the night the
" enemy left the fort, and did not loſe a man
" in their retreat, and at ten o'clock in the
" morning the place was entered by four com-
" panies of ſepoys. Thus ended the Corakee
" affair at preſent. Within ſixteen miles of
" this fort, are near twenty Corakees hanging

" on

" on the trees for their late inſurrection. The " Corakee Rajah and his men ſent to Citty Pore " to ſettle there, for their loyalty. This is the " moſt cowardly mob that was ever known, " from the Commander in Chief to the wild " Polygars: on the line of march we were like " a flock of ſheep.

" 6. Arrived at a ſtone fort called Marcarry, " where ſeveral Bramins had been defrauding " the troops, who made their complaint to the " Jemmidar, who ordered a cock of a firelock " to be fixed upon their ears, and made them " ſtand upon one foot, till they agreed to make " good the damage ſuſtained by the troops of " the town, through their villainy. At this " place are ſeven companies of ſepoys, with " muſquets, lately come from Nagram, and a " Portugueze Captain, who commands thirty " Muſteer artillery men. Halted here eight " days. The monſoons and rainy ſeaſon ſetting " in, the mob ordered to canton at Perripa- " tam till orders from the Nabob; where a ſta- " bula was to be built for the chaylack batta- " lion; what will be the next exploit God " knows, but neither Niars nor Corakees are " ſettled yet. After ſteering all points of the " compaſs, we are about forty miles from you. " This is a moſt plentiful country.

" Aug.

" Aug. 21. Intelligence came to the Jem-
" midar that a large body of the Corakees
" were aſſembling near Marcarry: three thou-
" ſand Polygars were detached from Perripa-
" tam cantonment, and three hundred ſepoys
" from Marcarry; they came up with the ene-
" my near a large river; they ſkirmiſhed for
" above three quarters of an hour, when the
" Corakees charged the Polygars. The whole
" of our party were defeated: only fifty ſe-
" poys eſcaped.

" Sept. 23. A harcarrah came with intelli-
" gence, that the Corakees had made an at-
" tempt upon Citty Pore, with an intention of
" putting to death the Rajah and his men.—
" The Jemmidar marched with his mob of
" about four thouſand cowards, to Sickle Boor,
" ſix miles, and encamped.

" 27 and 28. Continually ſkirmiſhed by the
" enemy, who often ſurprized our mob by
" ſpringing out of the jungle or wood. In the
" evening of the twenty-eighth arrived at Citty
" Pore; relieved the fort by leaving two hun-
" dred and fifty ſepoys in the room of the Ra-
" jah and his men, received in camp; our loſs
" before we arrived here thirty men.

" 29.

" 29. Marched from hence; on our way back " ſkirmiſhed; loſt fourteen men and encamped " at Sickle Boor that evening: all but fifty of " the men belonging to the Corakee Rajah de- " ſerted us.

" 30. In the evening, the enemy very near " our camp. The Jemmidar ordered the muſic " belonging to the matchlocks, the infantry " drums, and cavalry trumpets, to be beat and " ſounded all round the camp every gurry " (twenty-three minutes) during the night, in " order to frighten away the enemy.

" Oct. 2. Marched about ten miles, and " found the roads ſtopped with large trees laid " acroſs. During the time the labourers were " clearing them away, the enemy fired very hot, " from both ſides of the road, and put our ne- " groes to the rout, and took all our bazar " and baggage. Several ſkirmiſhes happened " on our way to Citty Pore, in which we had " one European, upwards of one hundred " blacks, killed; and three Europeans, ſixty " blacks, wounded. In great confuſion we ar- " rived at Citty Pore that evening, where " we remained five days; during which time " a treaty of peace was concluded between the " Jemmidar and the Corakee Prince.

Oct. 8. Our mob was eſcorted by three " thouſand ſix hundred Corakees on each flank " within five miles of Perripatam: it was un- " doubtedly great folly of the Corakee Prince " to let us come off ſo eaſily, as they muſt have " cut us off entirely.

" The fort of Citty Pore was given over to " them, as well as all other pretenſions to their " country.

" On the eighteenth of October, two thou- " ſand men joined us from Seringapatam."

Here ends the journal tranſmitted to us by Serjeant Dempſter.

The following was ſent from Bentall Woodley to Serjeant Dempſter.

" Dear D.

" I aſſure you our ſituation is very bad, much " worſe than your's. The old Commandant " draws five pagodas per month; but our pay " and the Subadar's is only one fanam a day, " which changes only for eight pice and three " caſh. The Verduvalla Serjeant draws three- " fourths of a fanam a day; the Verduvalla Cor- " poral one pice, one caſh; the Havaldar half

" a

"a fanam; a ſepoy one fourth of a fanam per "day; and the proviſions that are cooked for "the Europeans and boys are all on an equality. "The Commandant and Subadars eat (like "gentlemen) by themſelves; but we, like ſlaves, "have rice boiled twice a day, in a dirty poi- "ſonous manner, with a little currey made with "doll only. Five ſeer of ghee per day for five "hundred men. We have not had any meat "but twice theſe two months paſt, on which "account it coſts us all our eight dubs and three "caſh per day for victuals. We are treated ill "by the old Commandant, who has full com- "mand of the battalion; for we have no com- "mand, only at exerciſe. The Jemmidar, "Commander in Chief, who hates all Europe- "ans, anſwers all complaints with jow, jow! "(go go!)

"Mackinnon, being wounded at the Cora- "kee fort through the arm with a muſket ball, "by one of our own mob, the Jemmidar made "him a preſent of a red turban and a ſet of "gold beads, value ten pagodas; all the boys "that were wounded received a preſent of ſil- "ver bangles, to wear on their wriſts, value "twenty-ſix rupees. On the 25th of June, "Smithey, Green, Clements, Anderſon, Wyl- "lies, Mackenzie, and your humble ſervant,

"en-

" endeavoured to venture towards Calicut, with
" a determination to extricate ourſelves out of
" Hyder's ſervice. After walking by the light
" of the moon near ſix coſs, through the thick-
" eſt woods, we were ſurprized by wild ele-
" phants and tygers, and by accident loſt
" our bread, which determined us to turn back
" again, which we accordingly did; and it ſeems,
" Higgins, being afraid he ſhould be brought
" into trouble, reported us gone to Seringapa-
" tam, to complain of the Jemmidar's uſage.
" The horſe being ſent out after us, met us about
" five miles from the cantonment, and brought
" us to the Jemmidar. We ſaid, by way of
" excuſe, that we had been out a ſhooting,
" having a carabine and two piſtols with us:
" we were ſtripped, and all tied in one rope:
" an hundred of the ſtouteſt of our own batta-
" lion received a twig of a tamarind tree and
" ſerved us out a laſh each: we had no centi-
" nels over us before we began this adventure,
" but now we are cloſely guarded.

(Signed)

" BENTALL WOODLEY."

Nov. 2. Arrived priſoners, two Europeans, with fifty Carnatic boys.

" Nov. 25.

Nov. 25. Received a letter from the ſoldiers, and gave the ſepoy who brought it five fanams.

Dec. 11. Forty-ſeven ſeamen, who were given up to Hyder by Suffrein, appeared this morning on the parade oppoſite to our priſon, and have been circumciſed ſince their arrival here: they were dreſſed in the Mahometan dreſs, white turbans, white linen jackets and long drawers; ſixteen of theſe unfortunate victims could not be above twelve or thirteen years of age.

15. Received accounts of Hyder's death, and that his corps was carried to Collard. He died of an ulcer in his back, which had afflicted him for ſeven years.

Copy of a letter ſent to Serjeant Dempſter.

"The gentlemen confined in this priſon, re-
"turn you their ſincere thanks for your atten-
"tion to their laſt requeſt, and aſſure you, that
"ſhould it ever hereafter be in their power to
"be of ſervice to you, they ſhall not be un-
"mindful of the favours they have received
"from you in their preſent unfortunate ſitua-
"tion. Your readineſs to oblige us, in the laſt
"inſtance, leads us to make another requeſt to

"you

" you of the moſt ſerious conſequence to us,
" and which we think can be attended with no
" danger to you, or detriment to the ſervice
" you are unluckily fallen into. It is to for-
" ward to ſome Engliſh or neutral ſettlement,
" on either coaſt, a ſmall letter, which we ſhall
" entruſt to you open, and which will only con-
" tain a ſtate of the priſon and the names of
" thoſe at preſent living, with a requeſt of
" tranſmitting the ſame to Madras. To you,
" who know the length of time we have been
" ſhut from all communication with our friends,
" we need not point out the advantages we may
" derive, and the ſatisfaction they muſt feel,
" from receiving ſome account of us; or on the
" other hand, the many fatal events that may
" take place from a ſuppoſition of our death.
" Though an opportunity to comply with this
" propoſal may not at preſent offer, yet you
" may keep the letter by you, and from the
" many detachments and eſcorts that leave this
" place, one muſt occur in courſe of time.

" We could therefore wiſh (if you come into
" our plan) to ſend you our letter by the hand
" that conveys this. Whatever reward you may
" think neceſſary, we will engage to have paid
" at Madras, or other of our forts, and think
" we can promiſe the ſame, ſhould the letter be

" delivered at a neutral ſettlement; we requeſt " therefore that you will be ſo kind as to deli- " ver the accompanying letter to Meſſrs. Speedi- " man and Rutlidge, and thank you for the " peruſal of Woodley's journal.

" If you have any communication with Monſ. " Fortuno, the French Surgeon, we requeſt that " you will endeavour to ſend us a few dozens " of tartar emetic, and a liſt of country medi- " cines, to be purchaſed in the bazar. When " you wiſh to anſwer this, or at any other time " to write to us, let the ſignal be, the putting " a handkerchief over your turban, whilſt at " drill on the parade."

Dec. 21. Arrived a new Keeladar (Nabbee Cawn) with one battalion of ſepoys, muſtered by the head Myar and an Arab.

27. Muſtered by a Circar bramin, who took our names, with corps, and rank of each.

Received the following letter from Captain Rumley and Lieutenant Frazer.

" The poor Colonel (meaning Baillie) had " been ill for ſome months before he died, and " I think would have recovered, if he had had

" any aſſiſtance, but the cruel raſcals would not " admit of Doctor White or the Frenchman " coming near him, although they ſaw his ſuf- " ferings were beyond deſcription: we got a " ſort of coffin made for him, and ſome ſepoys, " Peons, and a European attended his funeral. " We are beſet by eleven guards, ten golaks, " one Commandant, Subadar, Myar, and Ver- " duvalla, and allowed a quarter of damnable " goat, a meaſure and half of rice, a little milk, " three loaves of bread each, about the ſize of " a ſix pound ſhot, ſome ghee, curry ſtuff, " wood, and ſix caſh per day between us.— " They will not let us have a knife to cut a " bit of cloth, nor the ſight of a book; ſo you " ſee we are prettily ſituated."

Hyder's death made public at the Cutcheree, and the naggars (large drums beat every day at twelve in the great ſquare) ordered to diſcontinue beating for three days, on account of that event.

Received the following letter from Serjeant Dempſter: a ſubſcription of two dubs each, to requite the ſepoy who brought it.

" Gentlemen,

" Your note of the 15th December, I received: " the ſhort but real picture of your very unfor- " tunate ſituation has made me melt into tears " of ſympathy, that our name and our country " ſhould thus be the ſport of barbarians; and " believe me, gentlemen, that there is nothing " within the verge of my power that could al- " leviate in the ſmalleſt degree your preſent ſuf- " ferings, in the great anxiety you muſt be in " to hear ſome ſolacing account after ſo long an " interval of ſuſpence and confinement, that " would not moſt readily be embraced.——I " am exceedingly ſorry that it is not at preſent " in my power to give you any full or ſatisfac- " tory account. The grand news is as follows: " That on the 29th of November departed this " life Hyder-Ally-Cawn: he is ſucceeded by " his eldeſt ſon Tippoo Saib, who bears a very " good character indeed; he is now at the grand " camp near Vellore. In conſequence of the " above, about fifteen days ago arrived here a " new Keeladar: he acts conjunctly with the " old one, as *very* a villain as exiſts.

" I could gather no more from the Serjeant, " than that he was taken ſome months ago near " Trincomallée with two hundred ſepoys. No " juncture of time ſo barren of news as the pre- " ſent,

" ſent, chiefly owing to the death of Hyder:
" every one's mouth is full of it. You do me
" a great deal of honour in confiding a truſt in
" me to forward your letter to the Carnatic,
" and be fully aſſured that no means or oppor-
" tunity ſhall be omitted. I ſincerely thank
" you for your favour, and promiſe of protec-
" tion hereafter. I never intend to avail my-
" ſelf of it, as the title of Deſerter is almoſt
" inſupportable to any one tinctured with the
" ſmalleſt atom of ſpirit. From the moſt ro-
" buſt as well as healthy conſtitution, I am to-
" tally changed into a habit that daily tells me
" my ſtay ſhall not be long. Then be expe-
" ditious in ſending your letter. This revolu-
" tion offers a field for much news. Tokens as
" uſual. Sorry I am that I can't add any thing
" elſe. This I have writ only with the light
" of the fire; otherwiſe the ſeeing me occupied
" with pen and ink would ſubject me to be ex-
" amined.—As this town is now full of ſpies,
" poor Mr. Clarke has been ſent to camp about
" two months ago, to fill the place of a Corpo-
" ral Anderſon of the 73d regiment, killed.

" I moved the matter to Monſ. Fortuno (the
" French Surgeon) concerning medicines, but
" he can give you no aſſiſtance at preſent; he
" ſays, when the hurry of this criſis is over,

" he will be aſſiſting. I had by me a ſmall " atom of tartar emetic, which I ſend per " bearer. Give me leave, once more, gentle- " men, to make you a tender of my ſervices, " and to requeſt that you will confide in me as " in one who feels ſenſibly for your ſufferings."

The following letter ſent to Serjeant Dempſter, in order that he may forward it. (From the Engliſh officers confined in Seringapatam.)

" To the Governor or Commanding Officer of " any Engliſh ſettlement.

" SIR,

" AFTER a tedious and melancholy ſeclusion " from our friends and the world, we have at " length a proſpect of tranſmitting ſome ac- " count of ourſelves to thoſe who muſt but too " ſenſibly feel for our ſituation, and be truly " anxious for our lives and health.

" We do not know at which of our ſettle- " ments this letter will firſt arrive, but requeſt " that the ſum of one hundred pagodas be in- " ſtantly paid on our account to the perſon who " ſhall deliver it; and that it be with all con- " venient ſpeed tranſmitted to the Governor of " Fort St. George, and the Commander in Chief.

" We

"We are all in good health, and, conſidering "the nature and length of our confinement, in "tolerable ſpirits; a gold fanam per day is our "ſole allowance, for ſubſiſtence and every ne- "ceſſary of life.

"We imagine, from the humanity Tippoo "Saib has generally ſhewn to Europeans, that "if our confinement be likely to continue much "longer, an application to him for an in- "creaſe of allowance, and ſtriking off our "irons, might not be without effect.——We "ſhould wiſh, at the ſame time, to be allowed "medicines, and the attendance of the French "Surgeon, both of which have been for many "months denied us; to which and our cloſe "confinement we muſt chiefly attribute the "death of thoſe we have already loſt.

"Colonel Baillie died on the 13th Novem- "ber laſt. He, Captain Rumley, and Lieu- "tenant Frazer, were confined in a Choultry "by themſelves, and were taken out of irons "in March laſt; the two latter are well, but ſtill "are kept ſeparate from us. Lieutenant Lind "died here the 14th of April; Captain Lucas "July 5th; Mr. Hope, cadet, the 7th; and "Lieutenant Maconichy the 9th of the ſame "month.

"We earneſtly requeſt the Governor and "Commander in Chief to order copies of this "letter to be ſent to the ſeveral ſubordinate ſet- "tlements and garriſons on the Coromandel "coaſt, as alſo by the firſt ſhips to Europe, with "directions for its being publiſhed in the Lon- "don newſpapers. We hope it is needleſs to "enforce this requeſt, by pointing out the many "domeſtic anxieties that muſt ariſe from a "total ignorance of our fate, and the melan- "choly effect that may be prevented by a know- "ledge of it.

"We beg leave to mention Lieutenant Gor- "don of Colonel Baillie's detachment, and Mr. "Brunton taken at Pondicherry, who are con- "fined with the ſoldiers by one of the many "unaccountable acts of this government, tho' "repeatedly aſſured of their being officers. We "have heard that Mr. M'Neale, mate of a "country ſhip, and Mr. Wilſon, an officer of "the Company's cruizer Yarmouth, are alſo con- "fined in the ſoldier's priſon.

"Sid Abram, Commandant of the Tanjore "cavalry, is confined with us, and well merits "the Honourable Company's remembrance in "the article for the return of priſoners. There is "a ſervant of one of the officers here, which

"makes

" makes the number of Europeans in this pri-
" ſon amount to thirty-eight.

" *P. S.* From the death of Hyder, and the
" very different conduct of his ſon to ſuch Eu-
" ropeans as have fallen into his hands, we are
" induced to hope ſomething might be effected
" for the relief of ſuch officers and men as have
" been circumciſed and forced into the ſervice
" of Hyder Ally, though even a peace may be
" a more diſtant event than his death gives us
" reaſon to hope. We therefore embrace this
" opportunity of informing the Government of
" Fort St. George, that they who have ſuffered
" this misfortune, *at this place*, are as follows,
" *viz.* Lieutenants Speedman and Rutlidge; En-
" ſign H. G. J. Jennings Clarke; Meſſ. Le-
" ſage, Auſtin, Wilkiſon, Drake, and Hei-
" deman, midſhipmen belonging to his Majeſ-
" ty's Navy; eleven non-commiſſioned and pri-
" vates of the 73d regiment; forty-four ſea-
" men, King's and Company's; and about forty
" non-commiſſioned and privates of the Com-
" pany's troops."

Jan. 12.—1783. The Keeladar of Nagram, Jad Bhie, has revolted and gone over to General Mathews.

13. Raiſed by public ſubſcription forty gold fanams, which we have ſent to Captain Rumley and Lieutenant Frazer.

Tippoo Saib was in the Calicut country at the time his father died, and immediately on his hearing the news, he ordered a new Keeladar here, with one battalion of ſepoys, and proceeded himſelf (with Lally) to take charge of the army in the Carnatic, It was twenty-ſeven days from the time of his father's death until the time he took charge of the army, and every thing went on as ſmooth as before.

19. The whole of us turned out to ſatisfy the curioſity of a viſitor, a black man of ſome conſequence.

23. Two Europeans and five Subadars, who were taken in the Tanjore country, have been obliged to carry mud, in order to force them to take ſervice.

25. Arrrived Colonel Braithwaite and Enſign Holmes, not in irons. Arrived at the ſame time Captain Leech: he is confined in a different priſon, with the daily allowance of ſix caſh and one ſeer of rice.

Colonel

Colonel Braithwaite had been Commander of the troops deſtined for the protection of Tanjore and the neighbouring provinces, conſiſting of twenty-five European and one hundred and thirteen native artillery, ten field-pieces, one howitzer, one hundred and forty-two native cavalry, mounted, and the ſame number diſmounted, one hundred and nineteen light infantry, with twenty-three artillery attached to the cavalry, the tenth battalion, and eight companies of the thirteenth battalion of ſepoys, two grenadier companies of the ſixteenth battalion, and ſix grenadier companies of ſepoys. This force, amounting to about two thouſand and thirteen men, infantry and cavalry, lay in camp on the banks of the Coleroon, at the diſtance of forty miles from Tanjore. Colonel Braithwaite, ſituated in an open plain, was evidently expoſed to the enemy's cavalry; though apparently ſecured from any ſudden attack, by ſeveral large and deep rivers which lay between him and Hyder-Ally, who was at a conſiderable diſtance. But Hyder, apprized of theſe circumſtances, determined to cut off this detachment, as he had done that under Colonel Baillie.

Tippoo Saib, accompanied by Monſieur Lally, with four hundred French infantry, marched on this enterprize, at the head of twenty thou-

" ſand

ſand troops of his own, one half of which was cavalry.——With this formidable army, and twenty pieces of cannon, he ſuddenly ſurrounded the Engliſh, unprepared, and unable to reſiſt him. Colonel Braithwaite, on the approach of Tippoo, endeavoured to march off to Tanjore, or ſome other place of ſafety. Superior numbers on the ſide of the enemy rendered this impoſſible, and brought on an action, which was continued from the 16th to the 18th day of February. For the ſpace of twenty-ſix hours, an unremitted fire of cannon and ſmall arms was ſupported on both ſides. The Engliſh commander, attacked in every quarter, that he might preſent a front every way to the enemy, threw his detachment into an hollow ſquare, with his field-pieces interſperſed in its faces, and his ſmall body of cavalry in the centre. The Colonel, though wounded and bleeding, would not withdraw from the ſcene of action for a moment; but encouraged the efforts of his intrepid little army, by looks, voice, and action. A voilent cannonade on all ſides was expected to make a breach in our lines, in ſome quarter or other of the ſquare in which our troops were formed. Tippoo watched every appearance that might encourage an irruption of his cavalry; and wherever he judged that his fire arms had made an impreſſion, he led them on by example, by pro-

promiſes, by threats, by ſtripes, and fugitives ſlain with his own hands.—They advanced repeatedly to the charge, but were as often repelled by the ſhowers of grape ſhot and that of muſquetry. The moment they were driven back, the Britiſh cavalry, ruſhing forwards from the center of the ſquare, through openings made by our well-diſciplined troops, for that purpoſe, purſued them with heavy and unreſiſted execution to a due diſtance, and then returned to their proper ſtations. But at laſt, when great numbers of our men had fallen, and thoſe who remained were worn down with wounds and fatigue, Monſieur Lally, at the head of his four hundred Europeans, with fixed bayonets, ſupported by ſeveral battalions of infantry, and flanked by prodigious numbers of cavalry, marched with ſteady reſolution to attack that ſide of the ſquare which had been moſt expoſed and ſuffered moſt in the action. Our exhauſted ſepoys, unable to repulſe the onſet of ſuch a body of Europeans coming freſh into action, daring, from the vaſt army that ſupported them, and confident of ſucceſs, were inſtantly thrown into confuſion. The enemy's cavalry ruſhed in amongſt our diſordered troops. A dreadful carnage enſued; nor would one have remained of this unfortunate body of men to report the fate of his friends, if the humanity of an European

ropean officer had not been oppoſed to the barbarous fury of Aſiatic conquerors. Monſieur Lally loſt not a moment in putting a ſtop to the effuſion of blood. The French troops readily obeyed his orders. But it was not till the ſword of the Commander was dyed with the blood of five individuals, among his native troops, that they ceaſed to indulge their ſavage fury. Colonel Braithwaite, with nineteen officers, fell into the hands of Tippoo.

Jan. 31. Arrived priſoners two hundred and fifty Carnatic children.

Feb. 5. The Verduvalla, at our requeſt, waited on the Kheladar, to acquaint him that we wiſhed to ſee him, or ſome head perſon, in order to lay before him our miſerable ſituation, being in want of medicines, and nearly two years in irons.

6. Viſited by the ſecond Myar, who ordered Lieutenant Sampſon's irons to be taken off, on account of his indiſpoſition.

Lieutenants Lindſey and Maſſey put in irons.

Sid Abram (our black Commandant), by the deſire of the whole, requeſted of the Myar

to

to deliver the following particulars to the Keeladar.

1ſt. That we had been in heavy irons for near two years. 2d. That we had no medicines, nor were even allowed to purchaſe any for the relief of the ſick. 3d. That we might be allowed one bottle of pia arrack, for the uſe of the ſick only, and to be kept always in charge of the centinel. 4th. That our allowance of a fanam per day was too ſmall. 5th. That Mr. Skardon might be put on the ſame allowance as the whole of us, he at preſent receiving only ſix caſh, one ſeer of rice, half of doll, a little currey-ſtuff and ghee per day. To theſe we received no anſwer.

Feb. 14. Muſtered by the Myar, who particularly examined our irons.

26. Removed to Myſore, Captain Rumley, Lieutenants Frazer and Sampſon: poor Sampſon was exceedingly ill of an ague at the time he left us.—We made up a ſmall ſum of forty gold fanams for him: ſtrange are the conjectures concerning the fate of theſe three gentlemen.

March 1.

March 1. Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite: he and Enſign Holmes are allowed one fanam per day each. Colonel Braithwaite having repreſented to us their miſerable ſituation, we raiſed by public ſubſcription ſeventy gold fanams, and have deſired the Colonel to convey, if poſſible, part of the above ſum to Captain Leech, who, we underſtand, is ſtarving on ſix caſh per day: this unfortunate man was taken at Puddelotah, thirty miles from Trichinopoly, and is now confined along with two Serjeants and three Subadars.

12. A letter ſent to the circumciſed Europeans a few days ago, and received the following anſwer.

"Dear Gentlemen and Countrymen,

"YOUR note we received, but ſorry we are "to tell you, that little ſatisfaction we can give "you; no farther than to acquaint you that "Nagram is ours. Captain Rumley and two "more officers were ſent to Myſore. Gentle-"men we are ſore oppreſt, againſt our will, to "do as we do. You mention in your note about "letters for the Carnatic, which we do not "underſtand. Our army is about nine days "march from this. Meſſrs. Speedman, Rut-"lidge, a Serjeant Major, and another Serjeant,

"ar

" are all in irons at Gunjum Pett, for attempt-
" ing to make their eſcape."

March 14. Mahomed Ally, a General in Tippoo's ſervice, encamped ſix miles to the northward of this, on his way to Nagram.—His party conſiſts of five hundred French, two battalions of topaſſes, five battalions of ſepoys, three thouſand horſe, with ſeveral guns.

Sent Colonel Braithwaite thirty-four fanams, which we raiſed with the utmoſt difficulty.

March 22. Arrived the reliques of the late Hyder-Ally Cawn, and interred in the Loll Bang garden, one mile eaſt of the fort.

25. Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, wherein he informs us that he has only received ſixty fanams. A Verduvalla who was over the Colonel at this time, attended our priſon, on account of his indiſpoſition; conſequently we thought this a favourable opportunity to remit the money, and accordingly entruſted him; but found, to our ſorrow, that he kept up forty fanams and two letters.

April 1. Colonel Braithwaite having pointed out a channel of correſponding with Tanjore,

and wiſhing to have fifty fanams tranſmitted to him for that purpoſe, we have raiſed that ſum by ſubſcription, and ſent it him, together with a liſt of our names, in order that they may be forwarded to our friends.

Received the following letter from ſome of the European Muſſulmen.

" Dear Gentlemen,

" We intend to avail ourſelves of the firſt " opportunity to eſcape, as we would ſooner die " than remain in this raſcal's ſervice. If you " ſhould be releaſed before we put this ſcheme in " execution, pray be ſo good as to conſider our " miſerable ſituation."

May 1—2. Salutes fired, on account of ſome favourable news received from Nagram, and ſugar given to the inhabitants (guards go about with baſkets full of ſugar, diſtributing it like Roman dolls, among the people) and drums beating, in conſequence of our having loſt Nagram.

May 6. The perſon who engaged with Colonel Braithwaite to tranſact the correſpondence with Tanjore, has declined to execute it.

16.

16. The whole of us have ſubſcribed half a fanam each per month to Captain Leech, which puts him on a level with us, as we underſtand he is in a moſt wretched ſituation.

June 20. Received the following letter from Brigadier-General Mathews, who arrived priſoner here the 27th of May, 1783.

"I am ſorry for the misfortune of my friends. "Rumley is dead. Fetherſtone was killed. I "*was* a Brigadier-General and Commander in "Chief on the Malabar coaſt. Mangalore has "a very good garriſon, and I think will hold "out till relieved from Madras. Our fleet is "ſuperior to the French in India. Our army "victorious in the Carnatic; likewiſe in the "Cuddapa country. Lang, a Brigadier-Gene-"ral, has taken Corrore, and has ten thouſand "good men under him. Our affairs wear a "tolerable aſpect. The Marrattas have made "a peace and alliance with us. I had three "hundred Europeans and eight hundred ſepoys, "effective, at Nagram, called alſo Bedanore, "and made a treaty with Tippoo, which he "broke, plundered us, and made us cloſe pri-"ſoners. I think that Tippoo wiſhes for a "peace with us, and that ſomething towards it "may take place in November. I am uſed ill,

"but not in irons. I have neither pen, ink,
"nor paper, and it is dangerous to correſpond.
"All the ſtrong forts are in our poſſeſſion. I
"took the whole Malabar coaſt. I brought
"from Bombay four hundred Europeans and one
"thouſand ſepoys, and was afterwards joined by
"the Calicut army. The number of places taken
"by me required all my troops to garriſon, and
"I had not any ſupport from any place. We
"knew not of your ſituation: if I had known
"it, I ſhould not have been a priſoner. Ge-
"neral Stewart commands at Madras. The
"troops that the French landed have been de-
"feated. For myſelf and two European ſer-
"vants, and one black, I am allowed one fa-
"nam and a half per day, with one ſeer of
"meat, three ſeer of bad rice, and one of ghee.
"I am compelled to receive what they give,
"and not allowed to buy any other from the
"bazar. I cannot procure any thing but thro'
"the Hircarrah. Should any thing happen to
"my life, I wiſh you to remember, that the
"Company owe me, for money advanced by
"me during my command, thirty-three thou-
"ſand rupees, beſides all my pay, and allowance
"due from the time of my arrival in India.—
"The troops that were with me are ſome in the
"Nabob's ſervice; the reſt ſent in irons to diffe-
"rent parts of the country.

"RICHARD MATHEWS."

Saw

May 30. Saw the European Muſſulmen at drill this morning on the parade; they gave us the compliment of the ſalam.

June 4. In honour of his Majeſty's birth-day, we had for dinner two quarters of ſtewed mutton, with a bread pudding; and drank his health in pure water.

July 1. Repeated applications to the Kee-ladar, in order to have ſeveral gentlemen's irons taken off, on account of their legs being ſwelled, and otherwiſe indiſpoſed, but without ſucceſs.

Raiſed by ſubſcription twenty fanams, which we have given to the waſherman for bringing General Mathews's letter, &c.

23. The whole of us have ſubſcribed one dub each for the Doctor's medicine box. This we do occaſionally.

Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, of which what follows is an extract.

" As we burn all your letters, we could be glad you would ſend the names of thoſe herbs good for ſore legs. Captain Leech's are ſwelled,

" and very ſore: he has no covering for them
" but old rags, from whence I conjecture that
" his w—— will let no cloth be bought for
" him; therefore it would be an act of charity,
" if, amongſt you, you would make up for him
" four ſuits of ſhirts and drawers, and deduct
" the money out of his next month's ſupply.
" you can ſend them from time to time by the
" waiſtcoat waſherman."

July 24. Our ſervants, in going for water this evening, accoſted a Subadar for news.—This man was formerly in our ſervice. He deſired the ſervants to give his particular ſalam to us, and tell us to keep up our ſpirits, for that we would very ſoon be releaſed.

Sid Gofforr, who was a Commandant of a battalion of Zebundy ſepoys, and taken priſoner in the Tanjore country, is appointed Commandant to a regiment of cavalry, and allowed a palanquin. This is a particular mark of Tippoo's favour, as no one is permitted to make uſe of a palanquin, unleſs by expreſs orders from the Nabob. Sid Gofforr, previouſly to his appointment, ſent for his wife and children, as pledges of his fidelity.

This

This is a piece of policy very common among all the princes of India. If any perſon is diſtinguiſhed by fortune, by connections, or by any truſt under govetnment, care is taken that his family, or thoſe who are moſt dear to him, ſhall be placed under the immediate obſervation of the prince, or the miniſter in whom he confides. The head men, as they are called, of different villages, quarters of towns, &c. keep regiſters of all families of any note within their diſtricts.

At five o'clock, P. M. received intelligence of a project contrived in order to reinſtate the King of Myſore. How dangerous ſoever this conſpiracy might appear to be, yet every member at firſt appeared ſteady and undaunted.—— The parties who entered into this plot, were the Inchivalla, head poſt-maſter to Tippoo Saib, and keeper of the privy ſeals; the Prime Miniſter of the old King of Myſore; two Subadars; and nine other head men. One of the Subadars had the command of one hundred men: the other had been a Subadar in Captain Keating's battalion, and taken priſoner at the fall of Amboor, a garriſon in the Carnatic. The whole of the conſpirators aſſembled ſeveral times, and after matters were arranged, they each ſwore ſolemnly to obſerve ſecrecy. Letters were then diſ-

patched to our army, at that time in the Combitore country, the Marrattas, and Corakees, requiring their assistance. Every thing promised success. They then agreed to disperse for the present, and to meet at the general rendezvouz about seven the same evening: but unfortunately for them, and likewise for all the prisoners, the Subadar who had the command of the hundred men instantly went to the Keeladar and informed him of the whole plot. Guards were ordered, and the whole party secured and thrown into dungeons.

The first object of the conspirators was, to have made sure of the Keeladar, the head Myar, and Asoff Cawn; these three were to have been instantly put to death: their next, to have released all the European and other prisoners, and then to have murdered the whole of Asoff-Cawn's battalion, the sepoys of that corps having charge of all the prisoners, magazines, gates, &c.

Aug. 8. A current report that we are all to be burned, as a retaliation for the loss Tippoo has sustained on the Malabar coast.

Tippoo's son, a lad about eight years of age, frequently takes an airing on horseback, in a street

ſtreet adjoining to our priſon: which ſtreet, ſince the plot has been diſcovered, is lined with centinels, and no one is allowed to paſs or repaſs.

On this occaſion we peeped eagerly through ſome ſmall apertures we had found means to make, or to improve a little, in the walls of our priſon. The young Sultan was mounted on a beautiful managed Arabian horſe, finely capariſoned. He was attended and preceded by a number of people, ſome of whom bore up his umbrella, others fanned his face, others proclaimed his rank and high deſcent. At one particular place by which he paſſed and repaſſed, two elephants were ſtationed to pay their compliments to the young prince among the reſt of his adorers. The creatures were not only taught to kneel at his approach, and ſhew other marks of obedience, but to fan his face as he went along, with fans which they graſped and wielded with their trunk or proboſcis.

Aug. 11. An addition to our guard of two troopers, and the Myar has viſited our priſon three times this morning, with orders to the guards to be particularly vigilant.

Aug. 14. A moſt melancholy ſight this morning: one of the conſpirators ſtripped naked, and

and dragged to death at an elephant's foot. In the afternoon, two more of them, with their noſes and ears cut off, riding on jack-aſſes, were hanged at the north gate of the fort.

17. The waſherman acquaints us that General Mathews is put in irons.

19. Our Havaldar ſays peace is making.

23. Received the following from Colonel Braithwaite.

" Juſt as I had ſent my diſpatch to General " Mathews, his ſervants were brought to Leech's " guard, where they now are, confined with " him and the Serjeant. They have half a fa- " nam a-day between them; and the General, " I ſuppoſe, is reduced to one: they were " ſtrictly examined by the Keeladar as to what " the General's converſation turned upon; par- " ticularly if the Engliſh did not want to make " peace. The waſherman has informed me, " that my letters were ſafely delivered to the " General. The General is put in irons."

We hear that eleven thouſand horſe have died in Tippoo's camp ſince his arrival on the Malabar

Malabar coaſt, many elephants and camels, and a vaſt number of bullocks; and that his army in general is very ſickly.

This day a liſt was made out of the following articles, fabricated by the Engliſh officers, priſoners with Hyder-Ally-Cawn, and Tippoo Sultan Bahadar, in Seringapatam.

Hats of leather.
Caps, of coarſe dungeree.
Stocks of ditto.
Neckcloths of ditto.
Banyan ſhirts, ditto.
Jackets, ditto.
Waiſtcoats, ditto.
Trowſers, ditto.
Socks, ditto.
Buttons of thread.
Tables of Bamboo, and covered with a mat.
Stools of ditto.
Cots of Bamboo, by the means of an old knife, converted into a ſaw; the cot laſhed with coir rope, made from the cocoa nut.
Bird cages of Bamboo.
Trunks of ditto, 1100 pieces in one trunk.
Rat traps of ditto.
Squirrel traps of ditto.

Forks

Forks of ditto.

Backgammon tables of ditto.

Dice, ſawn with an old knife; the ivory acquired by ſtealth in the bazar.

Cheſs-boards, of paper and cloth.

Cards, two folds of paper, and one of cloth, paſted together with thick conjee, and poliſhed with the jaw-bone of a ſheep.

Ink, of lamp-black, with a little gum water. One chatty was placed over the head of another, to collect the ſmoke of the taper or wick of a lamp, which was ſwept off every day.

Pens of fowl quills.

Paints, brought in by ſtealth,—indigo, red wool, and turmerick.

Aug. 25. Troops and guns arrived from Tippoo's camp, all corroborating the accounts of peace.

27. Our Paymaſter ſays, that thirty heavy guns are arrived here, in conſequence of peace. —This good man ſeems to take a pleaſure in giving us any information that may contribute to eaſe our ſituation.

Sept. 1. Saw forty of the European Muſſulmen at drill. Viſited by the Myar, and a Circar

car Bramin, who took all our names, with the rank, corps, and monthly pay of each.

8. The waſherman gives us the melancholy accounts of General Mathews's death. He died the 7th inſtant; and at the time he departed this life he was in irons. The waſherman further informed us, that he had not changed his linen for twenty days, on account of his knowing tha the Keeladar had mixed poiſon in the victuals he daily ſent him. It appeared, indeed, from the treatment that the General at firſt met with, that Tippoo meant to uſe unfair means with him. Had he intended to uſe him agreeably to his rank, he ought to have allowed him his ſtaff to accompany him during his confinement: but ſo far from that, that he firſt broke a ſolemn treaty with the General and his officers.—The General was then ſeparated from the whole of his little captive army, brought here under a ſtrong guard, thrown into a filthy dungeon; his baggage, cot, and every thing of the ſmalleſt conſequence taken from him; his ſervants removed, and he himſelf thrown into heavy irons; and at laſt, to put a finiſhing ſtroke to the horrid ſcene, he was diſpatched by poiſon.

The General, when he learnt, from a combination of ſuſpicious circumſtances, as well as

hints let fall from thoſe that were occaſionally about his perſon, that it was the Sultan's intention to cut him off by poiſon, refuſed to taſte of the victuals that was ſent to him at ſtated times from the Keeladar's. Some of the guards, and even the ſervants who carried the poiſoned victuals, took compaſſion on the General, and gave him now and then a little of theirs. The Havaldar, who had the charge of the General, connived at theſe acts of humanity at firſt, and manifeſted ſyptoms of uneaſineſs and diſſatisfaction with the part aſſigned to him in the ſcene going forward. But this officer, when it was found that General Mathews ſtill protracted his miſerable exiſtence, was ſent for by the Keeladar, who told him that the General's life, if much longer continued, muſt be paid for by the Havaldar's death. Upon this the Havaldar communicated his orders, with the threats that accompanied them, to his unfortunate priſoner, who now had no other alternative than that of periſhing by famine or by poiſon. The anxious love of life maintained, for ſeveral days, a ſtruggle with the importunate calls of furious hunger. Theſe, however, prevailed in the iſſue of the conteſt. He eat of poiſoned food, and he drank too, whether to quench the rage of inflamed thirſt, or to drown the torments of his ſoul in utter inſenſibility, of the poiſoned cup.

Within

Within ſix hours after this fatal repaſt, he was found dead. This is a faithful and true account of the death of Lieutenant-General, Mathews, which has been ſet forth in various ways. The manner in which theſe particulars were brought to light was this:—The death of the General being reported to the Keeladar, it was mentioned, on that occaſion, that a braſs baſon was found in his priſon, with ſome writing on it; which muſt have been done with a fork he had with him. This was brought to the Keeladar, and read and interpreted by an European who had engaged in the Sultan's ſervice.

The Paymaſter tells us that peace is broke off, and that the Commandants of horſe and infantry, cantoned in this vicinity, have received orders to recruit men with the utmoſt expedition.

Sept. 9. The waſherman ſays, that immediately on his delivering General Mathews's linen to the Circar, it was tore to pieces and thrown into the ſtreets.

18. The head Derroga of the ſlaves, who viſits the Keeladar daily, is attended by nine of the European ſlave-boys who have been circumciſed: each of them having a ſilver pearl in their

their right ear, this being a badge of ſlavery amongſt the Mahometans.

Sept. 19. The head Derroga appeared this evening on the terrace of Tippoo Saib's houſe, which has a flat roof, with one turret at each corner, attended by five of the European ſlave-boys. On his perceiving us in the yard of our priſon, he immediately called the unfortunate victims to the edge of the houſe, and particularly pointed us out to them.—They were ſo very much affected that they burſt into tears, and retired. The Derroga again brought them, and ſpoke to them in a very ſerious manner: we were not near enough to hear the converſation. —It was the horror that the boys felt at the thought of being for ever ſhut out from the ſociety of their countrymen, and the hope of returning to their country, that wrung their tender ſouls with anguiſh. The pain they felt was merely of this ſocial kind, for, as far we could judge from appearances, or from concurring reports, they were not ſubjected to any ſpecies of toil or drudgery, or to ill uſage of any ſort. They were, on the contrary, well clothed and fed, and ſupplied with every accommodation that was either neceſſary or convenient. They were ſent to ſchool, to be inſtructed in the Perſian language, in arithmetic, and algebra;

gebra; and in general they were trained up in all the knowledge and accompliſhments of the country, being intended for the houſehold of the Sultan, and to be about his perſon. The officers to whoſe care they were entruſted by the monarch, had orders to treat them kindly, and to tell them, that being weaned from their attachment to the countries beyond the great ocean, and initiated in the religion of the holy Prophet, they would become the Sons of the Sultan, who would not fail to cheriſh, to beſtow his confidence, and promote them in his ſervice according to their merit.

Nor were theſe fair promiſes and expreſſions of kindneſs on the part of the Sultan, altogether inſincere or affected. In India, where the human character poſſeſſes great ſenſibility of temper, ideas of adoption are quite familiar among the people: and the young ones that are adopted, dependent on the bounty, and obedient to the nod of the adopting parents, are embraced with all that affection which is uſually ſhewn to real children. It was in this ſpirit that Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, having reduced Judæa and carried the people captive into his own dominions, "Spoke unto Aſ-"phenaz the maſter of his eunuchs, that he "ſhould bring *certain* of the children of Iſrael, "and of the King's ſeed, and of the Prince's chil-

"dren in whom there was no blemiſh, but well "favoured, and ſkilful in all wiſdom, and cun- "ning in knowledge, and underſtanding ſcience, "and ſuch as had ability in them to ſtand in the "King's palace, and to whom they might teach "the learning and the tongue of the Chalde- "ans. And the King appointed them a daily "proviſion of the King's meat, and of the "wine which he drank: ſo nouriſhing them "three years, that at the end thereof they might "ſtand before the King.—Among theſe were "of the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, "Miſhael, and Azariah; unto whom the prince "of the eunuchs gave names: for he gave unto "Daniel the name of Belteſhazzar; and to Ha- "naniah, of Shadrack, and to Miſhael, of Me- "ſhech; and to Azariah, of Abed-nego."*

As a reſemblance may thus be traced between the ſituation of the ſons of Judah under Nebuchadnezzar and thoſe of Great Britain under the Indian Monarch, ſo alſo we diſcern an affinity between the feelings and emotions to which thoſe unfortunate ſituations gave birth. The tears and other ſigns of melancholy which were manifeſted to our view by the European ſlave-boys in the midſt of eaſe and plenty, in the palace of a King! recalled to our thoughts how na-

* Daniel i. 3—7.

natural it was for the Jews of old, "To hang "their harps on the willows, to ſit down by "rivers of Babylon, and to weep when they "remembered Zion.*"

Sept. 23. The Paymaſter aſſures us that peace is certainly made.

26. Saw ſome of the European ſlave-boys on the top of Tippoo Saib's houſe: they paid us the compliment of the ſalam, made many melancholy ſignals with their hands, ſhed a flood of tears, and retired.

27. The annual Gentoo feaſt commenced this evening, which was continued, according to cuſtom, for nine days. The King of Myſore made his appearance in a veranda, in front of his palace, about ſeven o'clock. It is only on occaſion of this anniverſary that he is viſible to his nominal ſubjects.

This young Prince, in whoſe name the family of Hyder-Ally, who aſſume only the title of regent, carry on the adminiſtration of government, is allowed for himſelf and his family, an annual penſion of one lack of rupees. He is treated with all thoſe marks of homage that are paid

* Pſalm cxxxvii.

to crowned heads. In his name proclamation is made of war and of peace, and the trophies of victory are laid at his feet. Like Kings, too, he has his guards: but theſe are appointed and commanded by the uſurper of his throne, whoſe authority and ſafety depend on the Prince's confinement. Yet ſuch is the reverence that is paid by the people of Myſore to the blood of their antient Kings, and ſo formidable are they rendered even in their preſent ſtate of ſubjection, to the moſt vigorous character as well as powerful Prince in the peninſula of Hindoſtan, by their numbers, and the extent of their cities, eſpecially of Seringapatam, the capital, which would facilitate their intercourſe and co-operation, if any common principle or cauſe ſhould ſpread the flames of diſcontent and inſurrection, that it is thought expedient by the preſent government, not to cut off the hereditary Prince of Myſore, according to the uſual policy of deſpots, but to adorn him with the pageantry of a crown, to furniſh him with all that is neceſſary to a life of ſenſual pleaſure, to immerſe him in voluptuouſneſs, to unnerve his mind, and at ſtated times to preſent him, a royal puppet, to the view and acclamations of his people.

The ſpacious palace in which the young King of Myſore reſides, ſtands in a large ſquare, in the

the very center of Seringapatam, in an angle of which our priſon was alſo ſituated. Hence we had an opportunity of enjoying the ſight of this annual feſtival, in which we were indulged during the whole time that it laſted. The Prince, who is quite black, but exceedingly comely, appeared, as is already mentioned, in a royal veranda or open gallery, in front of his palace.—The curtains with which the gallery was hung being drawn up, diſcovered the King ſeated on a throne, with numerous attendants on each hand; ſome of whom fanned him, others ſcattered perfumes on his long black hair, and on his clothes, and others preſented his hooker, repleniſhed from time to time with betel and other narcotics. The veranda was decorated with the fineſt hangings, and reſplendent with precious ſtones, among which a diamond of immenſe ſize and value, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. On a ſtage, extended in the open ſquare, along the front of the palace, muſicians, balladieres, and a ſpecies of gladiators, entertained the King with his train, in the gallery, and the multitude that filled the ſquare, with muſic, dancing, tumbling, wreſtling, mock engagements, and other pantomimical diverſions. The ladies of his Majeſty's haram, as well as the European priſoners, were, on this occaſion, indulged with greater freedom than uſual, being al-

lowed to enjoy the ſpectacle through lattice windows, as well as the other ſubjects of Myſore. They were not black, but fair, and exceedingly handſome. Their number ſeemed to be from forty to fifty.—The girls of Hyder's ſeraglio, who were maintained by Tippoo in their uſual reſidence, after his death, amounted to the number of five hundred.

The King having ſat motionleſs in great ſtate for ſeveral hours, roſe up, when he was about to retire, and advancing to the edge of the gallery, ſhewed himſelf to the people, who honoured him with marks of the moſt profound and even ſuperſtitious veneration. The curtains then dropt, and his Majeſty retired to the inner parts of the palace, with his women.

As the ſubject of Eaſtern harams naturally excites curioſity in Europeans, the Writer of this Journal may perhaps gratify the curioſity of ſome of his readers, and relieve the gloom of of this Narrative, by what follows.

On the concluſion of the late war in India, a certain officer appointed to collect the revenue, in a diſtrict dependent on the Company, became acquainted with the Governor or head man of a town and territory belonging to it, who held that ſtation in the name of the ſovereign Prince whoſe

whoſe court was eſtabliſhed in another part of the country. This delegated power he had ſwayed for a long courſe of years, with advantage to himſelf, but without oppreſſing the people. A report had been ſpread that he had become exorbitantly rich: in conſequence of which, the Prince his maſter, agreeably to the manner of Eaſtern deſpots, recalled him from his government to the city where he had fixed his throne, that he might plunder him of the wealth which he had acquired among his diſtant ſubjects.

The Governor having received orders to return home, was ſtruck with all thoſe apprehenſions which trouble and diſtract the deputies of Aſiatic Chiefs and Princes in ſimilar ſituations. To conciliate the favour of the tyrant by preſents, to pacify him by a liberal ſhare of the ſpoil, is the meaſure which prudence naturally dictates to the Viceroy, who cannot appeal to any other law than the will of the Sovereign.—But nothing leſs than the whole is commonly found ſufficient to gratify the rapacity of the Prince himſelf, or thoſe about his perſon. Nay the whole is not always enough to redeem the poſſeſſor from impriſonment, torture, and death. For fame exaggerates the utmoſt amount of his fortune. The more he gives, the greater the

ſtore is ſuppoſed to be from which he gives it. A conſiderable hoard is thought ſtill to remain: and in order to wreſt this imaginary treaſure from the hands of the miſerable owner, every inſtrument of terror is employed that cruel ingenioufneſs can deviſe.

The perſon whoſe hiſtory has given occaſion at preſent, to theſe obſervations, was fully aware of the extreme danger of his ſituation; and in the anxiety of his mind, communicated what had happened to him to the Engliſh officer above-mentioned. This gentleman, touched with his diſtreſſes, and ſenſible that he would riſque all that was deſirable or dear to man, if he ſhould return to his maſter, undertook to repreſent his caſe to the Preſidency of ——, and at the ſame time to make them fully ſenſible how well he deſerved of the Engliſh, to whoſe intereſts indeed he had ſhewn an uniform attachment.—This the officer did without delay, and comforted the Governor with the hope of the Company's protection. This was in fact readily granted. The Governor was invited within the boundaries of the Preſidency's juriſdiction, with aſſurances of perfect ſecurity to his property, and ſafety to his perſon.

Upon

Upon this he moved off with his family, his furniture, and his wealth, carried on a number of elephants, to the town of ——, where he now reſides.

To the officer who had been the means of procuring him this aſylum, he was anxious to ſhew his gratitude by all poſſible marks of affection, eſteem, and confidence. He declared, that, notwithſtanding the difference of their religions, he could not help conſidering the officer as of kin to his family, of which, under God, *the common father of mankind*, (that was his expreſſion) he had been the Saviour. As the utmoſt mark of confidence and favour he could beſtow, he invited the Engliſh gentleman to his Haram, that he might preſent him to his wives and family. The gentleman was very well pleaſed with this invitation: but he obſerved, ſmiling, that this favour would be a treſpaſs againſt the laws and cuſtoms of his religion, which was the Mahomedan. The generous Muſſulman ſaid, that there was no reaſon why all the world ſhould be made acquainted with what had paſſed between them: and, for the act itſelf, if he conſidered it as a deviation from duty in any degree, he ſeemed to think it a very venial and light one.

Upon

Upon a certain day, then, at the appointed hour in the forenoon, the officer went to viſit his friend, who received him in a large veſtibule, attended by a numerous train of ſervants. He was conducted, by a ſpacious and elegant ſtair-caſe, to a gallery that led to the women's apartments, called the Haram, and alſo in the Gentoo language, the Zenana, which looks into a ſpacious garden, where the ladies occaſionally take the benefit of the freſh air, encloſed with high walls. In certain apartments, at either end of this gallery, there were ſeveral females whoſe buſineſs it was to wait on the ladies of the Haram. As ſoon as the Engliſh officer entered within the hall, or what reſembled a ſpacious drawing-room, the whole of the ladies roſe up from the rich carpet on which they reclined on cuſhions of the fineſt crimſon velvet, and inclining their heads towards the ground, paid him the compliment of the ſalam with inexpreſſible benignity and grace. Four of theſe ladies, diſtinguiſhed by the richneſs of their apparel, and the eaſe and dignity of their mien, were in the rank of wives, one of whom ſeemed to exerciſe a ſpecies of authority, to which the others paid a ready and chearful deference. The other girls, to the number of ten or twelve, ſerved as concubines to their maſter, and in ſome reſpects as handmaids to their miſtreſſes.—They were all of them,

them, thoſe eſpecially who were in the honoured rank of wives, and deſcended from good families, very great beauties. They were well dreſſed and highly perfumed: but the exquiſite comelineſs and elegance of the wives was ſet off and heightened with coſtly jewels, which adorned their ears and necks, and arms and ancles, and were ſtuck in their thick and long black hair, which was braided and turned back in the moſt graceful manner.

They were aware that this ſtranger was to be introduced. They had been informed of what he had done for the family, and it was, perhaps, in compliance with their ſolicitations that he was admitted to their apartments: for, like other females, as afterwards appeared, they poſſeſſed great curioſity; and they had never, probably, ſeen, and certainly never before been preſent and converſed with a native of Europe; yet, they were not in the leaſt abaſhed or conſtrained in their deportment. They were perfectly at their eaſe, and behaved with great attention and complaiſance to the Engliſhman, as well as complacency towards each other. They invited him, after he was ſeated on a kind of low ſopha, to partake of a collation, conſiſting of various delicacies, preſented from time to time by female ſlaves, who did not ſeem to be

under

under the influence of any fear or awe, but were, on the contrary, as well as the ladies who were their miſtreſſes, though reſpectful and ſubmiſſive, unconſtrained and chearful.

The ladies of the Haram, and eſpecially thoſe in the rank of wives, were very inquiſitive concerning the people, the cuſtoms, and manners of the Fringees;* and eſpecially of the Fringee ladies. One of them aſked if England was a large country, and how many gates it had. This was a natural enough queſtion: for what could ſhe reaſon but from what ſhe knew? The only ſpot of ground with which ſhe was at all acquainted, was the garden adjoining to the Haram, or at moſt, the town in which ſhe had formerly, or that in which ſhe now reſided.

Another aſked him, if it was true that the ladies in his country went openly in the ſtreets, and into moſques, without veils, and in the company of the men: and another, whether the men were confined by the law, to one wife. Many other queſtions were put concerning European manners and cuſtoms. The anſwers that were given

* FRANKS, the name by which Europeans have been generally known to the nations of the Eaſt, ſince the time of the Cruſades, in which the Franks, or French, made the moſt conſpicuous appearance.

given to the Engliſh officer appeared ſo improbable to the ladies, that one of them, who ſeemed either to poſſeſs, or to affect greater penetration than the reſt, whiſpered to one that ſtood by her, that ſhe was afraid that their *protector*, the title with which they honoured the gentleman, was telling a ſtory.

The maſter of the houſe, the common huſband of all the ladies, who ſat by them all the while, ſmoaking his hooker, laughed very heartily both at their curioſity and unbelief.

It is eaſy to conjecture that the wives and concubines of this Mahomedan Chief were not ſo much diſtinguiſhed as many of our Engliſh ladies, by a taſte and proficiency in literature. Many of the higher ranks among the Moors, even Princes and Princeſſes, can neither read nor write. Yet they cannot be ſaid to be wholly uncultivated by letters. Their ſervants or ſlaves, both male and female, inſtructed in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, ſupply the want of theſe accompliſhments to their lords and ladies, too indolent, or barbarouſly proud, to ſubmit themſelves to any occupation that bears the ſemblance of application and trouble. The ladies of the Haram that is the ſubject of theſe notes, I underſtood, on enquiry, were frequently entertained by ſongs,

and

and moſt extravagant tales, in the oriental manner, ſuch as the Arabian Nights Entertainments, read to them by their handmaidens. In this country the ſyſtem of the late Lord Cheſterfield, who conſidered it as below a gentleman practiſe on any muſical inſtrument, is carried to its full extent and completion: for there the fine gentlemen and ladies avoid the labour of muſical execution, and of arts and ſciences of every kind.

The ladies of the Zenana chuſe to be ſpectators rather than actreſſes in the operas exhibited for their entertainment. Balladieres, or dancing girls, a claſs of females, who are allowed to be openly proſtituted, are generally entertained in wealthy families, for the amuſement of the women. The attitudes, as well as the movements of the Balladieres, are very eaſy and not ungraceful. Their perſons are delicately formed, gaudily attired, and highly perfumed. By the continuation of wanton attitudes, they acquire, as they grow warm in the dance, a frantic laſciviouſneſs themſelves, and communicate, by a natural contagion, the moſt voluptuous deſires to the beholders.

The Hindoos, as well as the Perſians, Tartars, and adjoining nations, who have inhabited Hin-

Hindoſtan ſince it was conquered by Tamerlane, or Timurbeg, though of different nations, religions, laws, and cuſtoms, poſſeſs nevertheleſs, in equal degrees, hoſpitality, politeneſs, and addreſs. In refinement and eaſe they are ſuperior to the people to the weſtward of them. In politeneſs and addreſs, in gracefulneſs of deportment, and ſpeech, an Hindoo is much ſuperior to a Frenchman of faſhion as a French courtier is to a Dutch burgo-maſter. A Frenchman is indeed by no means deficient in eaſe of carriage; but that eaſe is mixed with forward familiarity, with confidence, and ſelf-conceit. The Hindoos, eſpecially thoſe of the higher *caſtes*, are in their demeanour eaſy and unconſtrained, ſtill more than even a French courtier; but their eaſe and freedom is reſerved, modeſt, and reſpectful. A Frenchman is polite becauſe he thinks it his honour to be polite: an Indian, becauſe he thinks it his duty, The former is polite becauſe he regards himſelf; the latter becauſe he reſpects you.

Their perſons are ſtraight and elegant, their limbs finely proportioned, their fingers long and tapering, their countenances open and pleaſant, and their features exhibit the moſt delicate lines of beauty in the females, and in the males a kind of manly ſoftneſs. Their walk and gait, as well

as

as their whole deportment is in the higheſt degree graceful. The dreſs of the men is a kind of cloſe-bodied gown, like our women's gowns, and wide trowſers, reſembling petticoats, reaching down to their ſlippers. Such of the women as appear in public, have ſhawls over their heads and ſhoulders, exactly ſuch garments, and worn in ſuch a manner as the Scotch plaids, ſhort cloſe jackets, and tight drawers which come down to their ancles. Hence the dreſs of the men gives them, in the eyes of Europeans, an appearance of effeminacy; whereas that of the women will appear rather maſculine; ſuch is the influence of habit and cuſtom on human ſentiments; an influence which extends not merely to matters of taſte; but, as the ingenious Dr. Smith, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, obſerves, to objects of higher importance.

From the difference of caſtes or claſſes of the people in Hindoſtan, I mean the original inhabitants, there ariſes a difference of education and dreſs. But even the inferior claſſes are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic: the youth are taught, not within doors, but in the open air; and it is a ſingular, but not unpleaſing ſpectacle, to behold, in every village, a venerable old man, reclined on a terraced plain, teaching a number of ſurrounding boys, who regard him with the

utmoſt reverence and attention, like a ſhepherd feeding his flock. In thoſe ſimple ſeminaries, where the want of magnificent halls and theatres is *divinely* compenſated by the ſpacious canopy of Heaven, the gentle and tractable ſons of the Hindoos are not only prepared for the buſineſs, but inſtructed in the duties of life; a profound veneration for the object or objects of religious worſhip; reverence of their parents; reſpect for their ſeniors; juſtice and humanity towards all men, but a particular affection for thoſe of their own *caſte*.

The Hindoo language is beautiful, expreſſive, and nervous. In reading and ſpeaking, the Hindoos are very muſical. Their ſpeech, like that of the Italians, flows in a kind of numbers.—There is a dead language, underſtood only by the *literati* of the country, that is, the prieſts, called the *Sanſcrit* language, in which their ſacred volumes are written, even as our ſacred ſcriptures are written in Greek and Hebrew; but whether that language was originally different from that of the country, or whether it has only *now* become unintelligible to the people, through that change which is incident to all living languages, is, I believe, not well known.

Having already obſerved, that the genius of the Hindoos is rather imitative than inventive, I need ſcarcely add, that they have leſs curioſity in their nature than the European nations; that they do not vary their faſhions; and that they are not fond of novelty *beyond the precincts of their Harams.* From the temper and tenets of this people, as well as from ſeveral hints in ancient hiſtorians, it appears more than probable, that the ſame kind of garments, of food, of furniture, of buildings, and of manners, which obtained among their progenitors thouſands of years ago, actually prevails among the Hindoo tribes at this day. In like manner, the ſame profeſſions are adhered to by the ſame families with ſuperſtitious exactneſs. Thoſe profeſſions are exceedingly numerous. This diviſion and ſubdiviſion of employment and labour; the vaſt variety of caſtes, from the *Bramins* down to the fiſherman, is one proof, among many others, of the antiquity of the Hindoo nation, and their progreſs in the arts. It appears very ſingular, that the different caſtes are not only prohibited from intermarrying, but alſo from eating with one another, and in ſome inſtances, even from eating of the ſame kind of food.

The food of the Hindoos is ſimple, conſiſting chiefly of rice, ghee, which is a kind of im-

perfect butter, milk, vegetables, and oriental ſpices of different kinds, but chiefly what is called in the Eaſt, *chilly*, and in the Weſt, green or Cayenne pepper. The warrior caſte may eat of the fleſh of goats, mutton, and poultry, which is dreſſed into *curreys* and *pilaws* *.—— Their greateſt luxury conſiſts in the uſe of the richeſt ſpiceries and perfumes, of which the great people are very laviſh. Their dreſs, in point of richneſs, is proportioned to their ſtations: their pomp and equipage conſiſt in a numerous retinue of ſervants of various denominations, who attend all their viſits and excurſions; in the dreſſes of thoſe attendants; the elegance of their palanquins; and the capariſons of their horſes, camels, and elephants. It is ſuperfluous to obſerve, that in conſequence of this multiplicity of different ranks, the Hindoos have the higheſt ideas of ſubordination, and

* *Curreys* are a kind of *fricaſſees* of mutton, fowl, or fiſh; the ſauce of which is compoſed of dried vegetables, peculiar to the Eaſt, and fine rice, boiled with very little water, introduced on a ſeparate plate: The ſauce of the fricaſſee is poured on the rice, and the meat laid above both. The *pilaw* is fine Patna rice dry-boiled, and fried with *ghee*, which has been already deſcribed, mixed with various ſpices, and particularly the *cardamon*, brought in on a large diſh, in which is concealed, amidſt the rice, a boiled fowl, or part of a kid, or of a lamb.

and pay to their ſuperiors the ſame ready deference and homage, which they expect themſelves from their inferiors.

Their houſes cover much ground, and have ſpacious galleries and accommodations of various kinds. The apartments are ſmall, and the furniture not very elegant, if we except the richeſt Perſian carpets. The grandeur of their palaces conſiſts in baths, perfumes, temples, gods, and harams. The harams are removed from the front of the houſe, and lighted either from a ſquare ſpace in the center of the whole building, or from a garden behind, encloſed by thick and high walls, fortified, ſometimes, with baſtions. The apparel of the women is inconceivably rich; they have jewels on their fingers and about their necks, and alſo in their ears and noſtrils, with bracelets not only on their wriſts, but on their arms above their elbows, and on their legs around their ancles.

Although the Hindoos are naturally the moſt inoffenſive of all mortals, yet does their humanity conſiſt more in abſtaining from injurious, than in the performance of beneficent actions. There is a wonderful mildneſs in their manners, and alſo in their laws, which are influenced by their manners; by which the murder of an human

human creature, and of a cow, are the only crimes that are puniſhed by death. Yet with all this gentleneſs of diſpoſition, they are inferior to the boiſterous Europeans, with all their vices, in the virtues of compaſſion and generoſity. They are wanting in that tenderneſs which is the moſt amiable part of our nature.—They are leſs affected by the diſtreſſes and dangers, and even the accidental deaths of one another, than any nation in the old or new world. Yet they *love* to exceſs: a proof, either of the inconſiſtency of the human character; or that the amorous paſſion is not derived from the nobleſt part of our nature.

Although the practice of Hindoo women burning themſelves on the funeral piles of their huſbands, and embracing in the mean time their dead bodies in their arms, be not ſo general now as it has formerly been, yet does it ſtill prevail among ſome of the wives of men of high caſte and condition: and although this effort of frantic love, courage, and ambition, be deemed an aggrandiſement of the family and relations of both huſband and wife, but eſpecially of the wife's, yet their friends and relations conſtantly endeavour to diſſuade the women who declare their reſolutions of *burning*, from carrying them in-

to execution. Even the *Bramins* do not encourage this practice.

The cauſes which inſpire the Hindoo women with this deſperate reſolution, are the following:

In the firſt place; as the wife has from her earlieſt infancy been betrothed in marriage to her huſband, and from that time has never been permitted to ſee another man; as ſhe is inſtructed to believe that he is perfectly accompliſhed, and taught to reſpect and honour him; as, after conſummation, ſhe is ſhut up from the company, converſation, and even the ſight of other men, with ſtill greater care, if poſſible, than before, being now debarred from ſeeing even the father or elder brother of her huſband, the bonds of her affection muſt needs be inconceivably ſtrong and indiſſoluble. To an European lady, the Zenana naturally appears in the light of an horrible priſon: but the daughters of Aſia never conſider confinement to the Zenana as any hardſhip.—They conſider it as a condition of their exiſtence, and they enjoy all the happineſs of which they have any conception; their whole deſires being concentrated and fixed on their huſbands, their children, their food, jewels, and female attendants.—There are inſtances of women making

elope-

ments from the Harams with European gentlemen; but theſe are not, in general, of the firſt families, nor free from the imputation of looſe behaviour.

In the ſecond place, if the wife ſurvive her huſband, ſhe cannot marry again, and is treated as an inferior perſon, and an outcaſt from her family. Nay, ſhe is obliged, in her mournful and hopeleſs widow-hood, to perform all the offices of a menial ſervant.

In the third place, ſhe is flattered with the idea of having immortalized her name, and aggrandiſed her children, and her own and huſband's families.

Laſtly, ſhe is rendered inſenſible to the pains and horrors of what ſhe is to ſuffer, by thoſe intoxicating perfumes and mixtures which are adminiſtered to her after ſhe has declared her final and unalterable reſolution—I ſay her final reſolution; becauſe one or two declarations of an intention to die with her huſband is not ſufficient. The ſtrength of her reſolution undergoes a probation. There is a certain time preſcribed by the Gentoo law, during which her family and friends exert their utmoſt influence in order to diſſuade her from burning; and if ſhe perſiſts in her

reſolution to the end of that period, it is not lawful to uſe any more perſuaſions with her to abandon it. If ſhe ſhould alter her purpoſe after that period, ſhe would be puniſhed with the loſs of all *caſtes*, and live in a ſtate of the moſt complete miſery and contempt. Nay, if an European or Chriſtian does but touch her very garment with his finger, when ſhe is going to the pile, an immediate ſtop is put to the ceremony, ſhe is forced to live an outcaſt from her family and the Gentoo religion.

It is a natural object of curioſity to know, in what manner, after all theſe ſtimulatives to perſeverance, the tender ſex, among a ſoft and effeminate people, ſuſtains the near approach of a ſcene ſo full of awe and horror. Amidſt her weeping relations and friends, the voluntary victim to love and honour alone appears ſerene and undaunted. A gentle ſmile is diffuſed over her countenance; ſhe walks upright, with an eaſy but firm ſtep; talks to thoſe around her of the virtues of the deceaſed, and of the joy with which ſhe will be tranſported when her ſhade ſhall meet with his; and encourages her ſorrowful attendants to bear with fortitude the *ſight* of thoſe momentary ſufferings which ſhe herſelf is about to *feel*. Having aſcended the funeral pile, ſhe lays herſelf down by the body of her huſband, which ſhe

fervently embraces. A doſe of narcotic mixtures is then adminiſtered for the laſt time; and inſtantly the perſon, whoſe office it is, ſets fire to the pile.

Thus the moſt determined reſolution, of which we can form any conception, is found in the weaker ſex, and in the ſoft climes of Aſia. It is to the honour of that ſex and thoſe climes, that the greateſt courage they exhibit, is the effect, not of the furious impulſes of rage and revenge, but conſcious dignity and love.

It might naturally be imagined by an European, that the ſeveral wives of one man, for polygamy is general throughout all Aſia, would regard one another with mutual jealouſy and averſion. This, however, is not always, nor, I have been aſſured, for the moſt part, the caſe. Though each lady has her own ſeparate apartment, they viſit one another with great friendſhip and cordiality; and if they are of the ſame caſte, will occaſionally eat together. The huſband is ſometimes reſtrained from eating with his wives, either by a regard to cuſtom; or, as I have been informed by ſome of the Gentoos themſelves, by a precept of their religion.

Of theſe obſervations the reader will perceive that ſome are applicable only to thoſe of the Gentoo

Gentoo religion; but without a notion of certain general cuſtoms and ſentiments, common to all, it would be difficult to form a juſt conception of any particular Haram.—With reſpect to the Haram that was viſited by an Engliſh officer, I have only to add, that the children of his friend were preſented to him, as well as his ladies, and that, at his departure, he was complimented with a diamond ring by one of them, who ſeemed to be the moſt favoured and reſpected Sultana, and with a moſt graceful and benign ſalam from the whole. The maſter of the houſe obſerved, with a ſmile, that he repoſed perfect confidence in the gentleman's diſcretion.

I ſhall now inform my reader that the Engliſh officer here mentioned was no other than the Writer of this Narrative. But, as the other parties are ſtill living, it would be improper to mention names, or be particular as to dates and places. —But, it is time to return from the luxury of Harams to the horrors of our jail.

Sept. 28. Saw forty of the European ſlaves at drill, under the charge of a black Commandant, very dirty and dejected.

A tom-tom went about this evening forbidding any of the inhabitants to appear in the ſtreets

ſtreets after nine o'clock at night, on pain of loſing their noſes and ears.

Orders for a morning and evening gun to be fired in all Tippoo's garriſons.

Oct. 1. The two men who were taken at Errode in 1768, Spencer and Wilton, paſſed our priſon this morning, attended by a ſentry. They were very indifferently dreſſed.

The Verduvalla of the guard informs us, that a Bramin of Tippoo's is gone to Madras concerning peace, and that two companies of ſepoys of his were in Mangalore, and two of ours in his camp. The Verduvalla thinks matters will be accommodated, as his maſter's affairs wear but a gloomy aſpect, and that he has no confidence in his head men.

2. Several of our ſhips arrived at Mangalore with troops, and news that peace was broken off.

Three of the men concerned late in the conſpiracy, without their noſes and ears, and riding on jack-aſſes, were hanged this morning.

3. The waſherman gives us the melancholy news of Rumley, Frazer, and Sampſon, being poiſoned at Myſore.

Oct.

Oct. 4. Shiek Ruſtan, Havaldar, who at one period commanded the guard of our priſon, and one in whom we have great confidence, tells us that Rumley, Frazer, and Sampſon, are all poiſoned; and recommends us to be particularly circumſpect in our behaviour, or that we may meet with the ſame fate.

5. Comrah, Sepoy, a Tanjore man, formerly on our guard, arrived this morning from Kayel Drook, and acquaints us that all the officers confined there have been poiſoned by expreſs orders from Tippoo Saib. He believes there were eighteen or twenty of them.

8. Our worthy friend the Paymaſter ſays, that peace is on the eve of being concluded.

11. Viſited by the Myar; he particularly enquired for our black Commandant's name, as alſo the officer's name who commanded the detachment in the Tanjore country, taken by Tippoo the 18th of February, 1782.

12. Received a letter by the waſherman from Colonel Braithwaite, telling us that the waſherman had kept twelve of the fanams which we ſent for the uſe of poor Captain Leech; as alſo

of

of the Death of Rumley, Frazer, and Sampſon: and that many of General Mathews's officers, confined at Kavel Drook, were dead, and the reſt dying.

The waſherman, who is our conſtant toppall, or poſt, was a Havaldar in Captain Nixon's battalion, and taken priſoner the 10th of September, 1780, and took ſervice in the ſtyle of a waſherman (the men waſh and iron clothes:) of courſe we had every reaſon to ſuppoſe he would be aſſiſting; but, on the contrary, he has taken every opportunity to pilfer us, although we have made him frequent preſents, and promiſed him, on our enlargement, a Jemmidar's commiſſion, with a ſum of money, provided he would not embezzle thoſe fanams which we, with the utmoſt difficulty, raiſed for thoſe in extreme diſtreſs.

Colonel Braithwaite applied to the Keeladar for a cot to ſleep on, but was refuſed.

Oct. 13. Lieutenant Butler at the point of death, is allowed, after many applications, to have his irons taken off; and ſeveral other gentlemen are dangerouſly ill.

Oct.

Oct. 21. Sid Abram, our black Commandant, who had been bred up in our ſervice, was this morning ordered to the kutcheree, and there told by the Keeladar that it was Tippoo Saib's orders, that he ſhould enter into his ſervice; as alſo to give information where his wife and family were, in order that they might be ſent for. The Keeladar adviſed him to take ſervice without any heſitation, and obſerved, if he did not, that God only knew what would be the conſequence. The Commandant was remanded back to our priſon, and allowed to reflect on the buſineſs.

22. We have made four ſhirts and four trowſers for Captain Leech, and have ſent them by the waſherman, together with twenty-four fanams. The fanams are put, or worked into the buttons of the ſhirt, which we have contrived, to deceive the waſherman.

24. Seven European artificers arrived here, and forced into Tippoo's ſervice. They were ſelected from thoſe men taken at Bedanore or Nagram.

27. Mirtojee, the Commanding Officer of the guard placed over our priſon, who, by the humanity of his behaviour, had acquired our eſteem,

eſteem, affection, and even confidence, corroborates the melancholy tidings we had received of General Mathews's officers having, all of them, been carried off by poiſon, at Kavel Drook, by the expreſs orders of the Sultan; which, he ſaid, was owing to the garriſon of Annanpore being all of them put to the ſword by one of our European officers. He warned us of a ſearch that was ſoon to be made in our priſon, for what we called contraband goods, ſuch as razors, ſciſſars, knives, and other offenſive weapons; and papers, pens, and ink; the means of correſpondence and diſcovery.

The Commanding Officer, to whom the inhuman taſk of poiſoning our men at Kavel Drook was committed, having been often preſent with them, and of courſe been moved with compaſſion, ſucceſsfully exerted his influence to be removed from that ſtation. The officer who had the charge of our ſoldiers priſon, at Seringapatam, was ſent for to Myſore, and appointed in his ſtead, with an expreſs charge to carry the orders and directions that had been given for poiſoning our men, into immediate execution.—This being done, the officer returned to his charge of our ſoldiers priſon at Seringapatam, which he occaſionally viſited as uſual. Certain of our men, who had heard ſome ſurmiſes of the horrid

horrid purpoſe for which he had been abſent, and who were moved with the liveliеſt inquietude and apprehenſions, ventured to put the queſtion to him, Why they had ſo long been deprived of the honour of his viſits? He made not the leaſt ſcruple to tell them the ſhocking buſineſs in which he had been employed, apologiſing, at the ſame time, for his conduct, by obſerving, that if he had not obeyed orders, he would himſelf have been put to death.

Oct. 29. Colonel Braithwaite has received a cot and ſome Margoza bark, from the Keeladar; and was at the ſame time deſired to apply for any thing he wanted. The Colonel requeſted he might be removed to us, or ſee the French Doctor, as alſo to ſit on the outſide of the priſon door during the time his ſervants were dreſſing his victuals. The Keeladar to theſe demands gave an evaſive anſwer.

30. Received the following from Colonel Braithwaite.

"Colonel Braithwaite preſents his compli-
"ments to the Gentlemen, has received four
"ſhirts, four drawers, for Captain Leech, but
"no *pills*, meaning fanams, * are to be found.

He

* The fanams were put in the buttons; the waſherman this time had not an opportunity of delivering them.

"He begs to know how they were ſent.—
"The Colonel takes the liberty to ſend them
"a few lines, by way of epitaph, on his late
"friend Sampſon, which he hopes his friends
"will wear in their hearts, as his deſtiny de-
"nies him a tomb-ſtone. It is the only tribute
"the Colonel can now pay to the memory of
"an officer, whom he brought up and loved
"with parental affection. Should he ſurvive
"his captivity, he will demand his bones and
"thoſe of the other gentlemen; who have died
"here, and carry them to Madras for inter-
"ment."

SAMPSON here reſts his head on hoſtile earth;
A youth to fortune, not to fame unknown:
The former frowned even at his birth,
The latter ſurely mark'd him for her own.
How great his bravery, let beholders tell:
Much did he do, and to the laſt did try.
Active, amidſt out-numb'ring foes he fell—
Diſabled—too luckleſs then to die!
A wounded captive in barbarian's chains;
Uncommon rigour mark'd his cruel fate;
A tyrant's caution caus'd his lateſt pains:
At length he died, a long, long year too late.
Lay light upon him earth;—and may his God
With mercy meet him, and for ay reward,
A youth, who in the walk of honour trod,
Yet ſuffer'd here, alas! a lot too hard.

Nov. 1. Serjeant Higgins (who voluntarily took ſervice) with two other European Muſſulmen, have made off to Mangalore from Nagram; but one of the three was unfortunately detected.

2. The European Muſſulman taken in endeavouring to make his eſcape, was ſhot in Tippoo's camp; and ſix more of the European Muſſulmen, who were alſo in his camp, are ordered to Shittle Drook.

3. The Europeans given up by the French were at drill this morning, and attended by four Havaldars.

All the Europeans who have been made Muſſulmen are confined in a large ſquare, and no one is permitted to go out without a ſentry.

Our allowance of one fanam per day, (or eleven dubs) is reduced to nine dubs and two caſh, a loſs of ſix caſh each per day; which affects us in the moſt ſerious manner. We ſhall be puzzled how to exiſt. Mr. Skardon has received an addition of three caſh per day.

4. The European Muſſulmen, and black ſlaves are given in charge of the black officers of cavalry, whom they are to inſtruct in the infantry

try duty; a moſt melancholy ſight to us. All this is owing to Monſieur Suffrein.

The Inchivalla, who was the ring-leader in the conſpiracy, ſtill remains in heavy irons, and on low diet.

Nov. 8. About ten this morning, fifty of the European Muſſulmen, with firelocks, and a body of native troops, eſcorted the Keeladar to a moſque, one mile Weſt of the fort.—— They were commanded by a black officer, who frequently, in our hearing, called out to them, as they were paſſing our priſon, *Chillow Fringee Banchut*,* with other expreſſions of inſolence and contempt.

9. The Paymaſter informs us, that Mangalore is given up, in conſequence of peace; that Tippoo is to be here in eight days; and that an officer of rank is on his way from Madras, in order to receive the priſoners. The Paymaſter has aſſured us in the ſtrongeſt manner, that the above information is undoubted, and requeſts

 that

* Go on, ye Fringees or Franks.

Banchut, ſignifies literally *pudendum ſororis tuæ!* an expreſſion of contumely, pretty familiar to the Blackguards of Hindoſtan. The Billingſgate of Eaſtern nations, in general, delights in alluſions to the nakedneſs of parents and neareſt relations.

that we would, on our enlargement, make him a ſmall ſalam, which he intends to appropriate to his daughter's marriage.* This good man is de-

* In Hindoſtan the expence of clothes is almoſt nothing; and that of food, firing, and lodging, to the native, very trifling. The Hindoos are not addicted to any expenſive vices, their paſſions and deſires being gentle and moderate. Yet they are frugal and induſtrious, and as eager to amaſs riches as any of the natives of Europe. A Jew, a Dutchman, or a Scotch pedlar, is not more attentive to profit and loſs. What is the reaſon of this? They are lovers of ſplendour and magnificence in every thing, but particularly in what relates to their women. It is in their Harams, but eſpecially on occaſion of their marriages, that they pour forth the collected treaſures of many induſtrious years. It may alſo be proper to obſerve here, that the good man, who had expreſſed a concern for the due celebration of his daughter's marriage, had in his eye, and even knew for certain, the family and the youth to whom ſhe was to be married.

Marriages are contracted by boys and girls, and conſummated as ſoon as they arrive at puberty; that is, when the men are from twelve to thirteen years of age, and the women nine or ten. The marriage ceremony is performed three times; once, when the couple are meſe infants; a ſecond time, when the gentleman may be about eight or nine years old, and the lady five or ſix; and the third and laſt time, at the age I have already ſpecified. Between the firſt and ſecond marriage ceremonies, the young couple are allowed to ſee one another: they run about and play tother as other children do; and knowing they are deſtined for

deſerving of every thing we can do for him, as he has, on every occaſion, ſhewn humanity and attention towards us.

The Paymaſter's news corroborated from all quarters.

Six o'clock. P. M. departed this life, Lieutenant Butler. This unfortunate man was ſick for near ſix months, and although the two Myars ſaw his wretched ſituation, and repeated applications were made to the Keeladar for medicines,

for each other, commonly conceive, even at that early period, a mutual affection. But after the ſecond time of marriage, they are ſeparated from each other; the bride eſpcially if ſhe be a perſon of condition, being ſhut up in the women's apartment until the happy day of the third and laſt ceremony, when the prieſt ſprinkles on the bride and bridegroom abundance of rice, as an emblem of fruitfulneſs.

Theſe early contracts are undoubtedly well calculated to inſpire the parties with a mutual and laſting affection. The earlieſt part of life is in every country the happieſt; and every object is pleaſing that recalls to the imagination that bleſſed period. The ductile minds of the infant lovers are eaſily twined into one; and the happieſt time of their life is aſſociated with the ſweet remembrance of their early connection. It is not ſo with your brides and bridegrooms of thirty, forty, and fifty: they have had previous attachments; the beſt part of life is paſt before their union, perhaps before they ever ſaw each other.

and a little pia arrack, yet the cruel barbarian gave no kind of aſſiſtance, but allowed him to linger out a life of miſery and wretchedneſs.

Nov. 9. The ſervice was this morning read over the late Lieutenant Butler, who was carried out as decently as the priſon would admit of.

The Kecladar ſent for the effects of the late Lieutenant Butler, conſiſting of a few old rags. The Verduvalla took as much care in examining them, as if they had been of the utmoſt conſequence.

10. Preparations making, ſuch as white-waſhing the houſes, cleaning the ſtreets, &c. in order to receive Tippoo Sultan Bahadar.

An officer of rank expected here to-morrow, to receive the priſoners: A choultry and pandall* fitted up for his reception, one mile north of the fort, at a village called Sooner Pettah.

12. The European Muſſulmen were at drill this morning, and mixed in the ranks with the black

* A kind of portico for making the choultry cooler, formed by wooden poles, and the leaves and branches of trees.

black ſlaves. They and the black ſlaves had their right ears bored, in order to wear the Mahomedan badge of ſlavery, which is a ſilver pearl.

Nov. 15. Colonel Braithwaite paſſed our priſon, on his return from the Keeladar. He was well dreſſed, and under charge of one Havaldar and twelve ſepoys, with fixed bayonets. Several of us were ſo rejoiced at ſeeing him, that they forgot their ſituation, and called out to him by name, through holes they had bored through the wall of the priſon. The Colonel was aſtoniſhed, and ſome of the priſoners diſapproved of this conduct of their companions. But their emotions were ſo lively, that they could not be reſtrained.

Various and uncertain accounts of peace; one moment we are informed that peace is finally concluded; the next, there is fighting; and in this miſerable ſituation are we daily tortured with alternate hopes and fears, which produce a ſtate of anxious and painful ſuſpence.

The Corakees have defeated a party of Tippoo Saib's troops at Perripatam, nineteen miles Weſt of this, and a reinforcement of Chaylahs and Colleries are ordered from hence to reinforce them.

Nov. 16. The reduction of our allowance of the ſix caſh, has ſo materially affected our mode of living, that we are obliged now to breakfaſt on two caſh of conjee and two caſh of milk. Two dinners in the week of doll pepper-water, each dinner nine caſh; one ditto of kut-cheree, twelve caſh, two mutton curreys, and two ſoup dinners.

17. Forty Europeans and two battalions of black ſlaves, with firelocks, (no bayonets) marched out of the fort at two o'clock in the afternoon, in order to be reviewed by the Keeladar; the European ſlaves were divided in the ranks with the Chaylahs, very dirty, and but indifferently dreſſed. Some had handkerchiefs on their heads, others turbans, and from their mid-thigh downwards they were entirely naked. Surely no ſituation on earth is equal to theirs: however, we flatter ourſelves, that whenever we meet with that happy hour of liberty, and their caſe is made known, every ſtep will be taken in order to recover them from ſlavery and Mahomedaniſm. The Europeans and black ſlaves have all a ſilver pearl in their right ear.

The Keeladar with the ſlaves, returned at eleven this night.

Nov.

Nov. 18. Colonel Braithwaite informs us by letter, that he has only received twenty fanams from the waſherman on account of Captain Leech. The waſherman has taken the remainder: this villain's cunning outreaches all our ſchemes. The Colonel and Enſign Holmes's allowance reduced to nine dubs and two caſh each per day, and Captain Leech and the Serjeant are raiſed to ten caſh each. The Colonel daily ſends Captain Leech a ſix caſh breakfaſt.

Five Europeans, handcuffed, arrived priſoners from the Durma country.

19. Received the following from Colonel Braithwaite

"When I got near the Keeladar's houſe, a "man came out in a great hurry and ſeeming "agitation, to ſay it was a miſtake, and or- "dered me back. In repaſſing your priſon- "houſe, I heard you ſay, by G—d there's Co- "lonel Braithwaite: upon which I anſwered in "ſome ſuch exclamation. I had a very pleaſant "walk, and ſaw much of the city, which is the "fineſt I have ſeen in India. Soon after I got back "to my dungeon, two or three perſons came from "the kutcheree, to tell me, whatever clothes "or money I wanted, to aſk and I ſhould have.

"I ſaid

"I ſaid, whatever the Nabob allowed me I "would receive; if ten pagodas a day I would "ſpend them; if ten caſh, I would live upon "it. I would aſk for no money; clothes I ſhould "be glad of. Three pieces of tolerable cloth "for ſhirting has been ſent me; they ſay a "taylor is to come to-day. This change in "regard to me looks well. Two preſſed tay-"lors are come; they pretend they cannot do "my work; but I believe the chaubuck will "teach them. I have ſeriouſly declared I will "not pay them."

Nov. 20. Our good friend Mirtojee ſays, that peace is certainly broken off.

The Commandant aſked the Verduyalla for news. He gave him for anſwer, that the news was very cold.

Captain Judſon has received thirteen pagodas by the hands of an old woman, come to Seringapatam in ſearch of her ſon, a ſepoy in our ſervice, which was ſent with a letter, by Mrs. Judſon, his wife, from Tritchinopoly. The old woman, ever ſince the fatal battle near Conjeveram, had wandered in a continual ſtate of pilgrimage, not being able to reſt long in one place, under the anxious and tender concern that

inwardly preyed on her maternal breaſt. After viſiting every place that report had ſuggeſted as the probable ſcene of her ſon's confinement, if in life, ſhe at laſt made her way to Seringapatam, where ſhe found him; and we all of us participated in her joy. The woman faithfully delivered the money which Mrs. Judſon had committed to her care, to our ſervants, whom ſhe found at the well, where they attended daily to fetch water, and which had become a kind of poſt-office. Mrs. Judſon, we were ſometimes inclined to think, muſt have received by ſome means or other, a deſcription of the well. But if this had been ſo, how could we account for the Commanding Officer at Tritchinopoly's not taking the ſame opportunity of correſpondence that was embraced by Mrs. Judſon. The attention of Government, indeed, could not well be expected to equal the cares of maternal and conjugal affection.

This is the only letter or money received in Hyder's country from our friends.

Nov. 21. Captain Judſon receives through the old woman a letter from Mrs. Judſon, dated the 14th of laſt month, in anſwer to one he wrote in February laſt, acquainting him that he might

might expect to be ſupplied from time to time with money, and that there was a talk of peace.

Nov. 27. The guard that was ſtationed over the unfortunate European officers, priſoners at Kavel Drook, returned here three days ago, and gave us the melancholy account of all General Mathews's officers being poiſoned.

A Circar Verduvalla, with armourers, this morning, particularly examined our irons. The Verduvalla corroborated the account we had received of the dreadful caraſtrophe of the officers at Kavel Drook; as alſo of Rumley, Frazer, and Sampſon, at Myſore; and ſaid that he made no doubt but that the Nabob would poiſon all the Engliſh priſoners.

Several thouſands of troops, and moſt of them Carnatic people, are drilling here, for the cavalry, artillery, and infantry. Tippoo copies our mode of diſcipline in every reſpect.

Dec. 1. The nine ſlave-boys, who attend the Derroga, are intended for the Nabob's family.

4. Arrived priſoners, twenty Europeans, and two European women, chained two and two.

Dec.

Dec. 5. Arrived priſoners, twelve Europeans, chained two and two; they were ſhipwrecked on the Malabar coaſt.

10. The Subadar who impeached the conſpirators is made a Commandant of Colleries, and has received many other favours from the Nabob. we have a part of his battalion over us, and he frequently viſits the priſon, and ſeems very anxious to enter into a converſation; however, as he has been particularly pointed out to us, by ſome of our friends, we act with caution.

Colonel Braithwaite acquaints us, that he has repeatedly applied to the Keeladar for a greater allowance, and for taylors, but without ſucceſs.

12. A European officer, who was taken priſoner on this coaſt, about two months after the fall of Nagram, and ſent here, is circumciſed and appointed Commandant to a battalion of Chaylahs: we have not been able as yet to learn any thing farther concerning this unfortunate man.

19. This evening, the whole of the European Muſſulmen were marched to Myſore, ſeven miles ſouth.

Dec.

Dec. 21. Received from the Kceladar two banyans, two ſhort drawers, and a ſheet; they were made of the coarſeſt dungeree, and the ſame quality as delivered out to the black ſlaves, ſo very unfit for our purpoſe, that we begged of the Verduvalla to return them, and endeavour to procure us a piece of cloth each in their ſtead: the cloth to be about four or five fanams per piece. On the Verduvalla's reporting this to the Kceladar, he replied, Very well, that we might wait a few days. Strange are the conjectures which are formed concerning this preſent, as it is the only inſtance of generoſity we have met with from that quarter, during our impriſonment: it has made a number of gentlemen melancholy—apprehenſive of force to take ſervice. Not like peace.

22. Many of our guards aſſure us, that we are all to be circumciſed, and taken into the Nabob's ſervice; and that the dungeree we received yeſterday was given in conſequence of that reſolution.

Captain Judſon has ſent two pagodas to Colonel Braithwaite.

Sent by the waſherman Captain Leech's ſupply, thirty-one fanams. A current report of peace,

peace, and that our ambaſſadors from Madras are only a few days march from this.

Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, acquainting us that he has only received twenty-four fanams for Captain Leech.

Dec. 29. Reports of our ambaſſadors being at Malvaree, twelve coſs N. E. of this place; that they have applied to the Keeladar to ſend us money and clothes; but that the Keeladar would not comply with their requeſt, as he obſerved that he had no *hookum*, or order, from the Nabob.

The Europeans who were taken at, or near Calicut, about two months ago, and ſent here, are forced into the barbarian's ſervice as ſtone-cutters.

31. The Verduvalla, by an order from the Keeladar, told Sid Abram that he muſt conſent to enter into the Nabob's ſervice, and give an account where his wife and family were, that they might be ſent for. The Commandant replied, that he had, from his boyiſh days, been brought up amongſt the Engliſh, had met with every attention and encouragement that a ſoldier merited, and that he would on no account give in-

information where his wife and family were, nor would he conſent to enter into the Nabob's ſervice.

A meſſage, or ſalam, from Meer Nazer Ally, formerly an officer in our ſervice, but who had fallen priſoner and taken ſervice, to Sid Abram, that peace was certainly concluded, and applauding him for his ſteady conduct in refuſing to take ſervice. Meer Nazer Ally was a Subadar in Captain Mac Aliſter's regiment of cavalry, and taken priſoner with Lieutenant Crewitzer; he now commands a regiment of cavalry, and is doing duty here.

1784.—Jan. 13. Our guards doubled, and the centinels particularly vigilant. A report prevails that we are all to be put to death.

14. The whole of us turned out in order to be muſtered by a Subadar ſent by the Keeladar.

22. Abdull Ruſſell, Commandant to Captain Alcock's battalion, and taken priſoner with Colonel Braithwaite, was ſent to Arneé and thrown into heavy irons, on three caſh per day, and one ſeer of raggee, becauſe he would not enter into the barbarian's ſervice: many others, for the ſame reaſon, were treated in the ſame manner,

manner, until they conſented to take ſervice, and ſend for their families.

Jan. 24. A European boy, about twelve years of age, informed our ſervants at the well this evening, that he belonged to his Majeſty's thirty-ſecond or forty-ſecond regiment, that he was taken priſoner at Nagram, and ſince circumciſed. His name is Lindſey.

27. The Inchivalla was this morning publicly flogged, near our priſon, and his back rubbed with chillies, or Cayenne pepper.

Arrived from Mangalore, thirty elephants with their howdars.

29. The nine circumciſed European boys ſtill remain under the charge of the Derroga; two of them were this morning on the terrace of Tippoo Saib's houſe: they made ſignals that the Nabob would be here in fifteen days, and that we ſhould then be releaſed. We were greatly affected by their repeated melancholy ſigns of their ſituation; on their retiring they ſhed a flood of tears, and took off their turbans.

An increaſe of our allowance, of one caſh per day, owing to the exchange of the fanam.

Feb. 1. Arrived from Mangalore eight elephants, with their howdars; a ſpecies of frame fixed to the elephant for ſitting on—a little tent with curtains.

2. The Europeans who were ſhipwrecked, and arrived here in December, are chained two and two, with the daily allowance of one ſeer of rice and two pice each.

4. At four this evening five of the European boys under the charge of the Derroga were on the terrace of Tippoo's houſe, and made many tokens of their wretched ſituation.

The whole of us turned out, in order to be muſtered by the Myar and a Bramin, as alſo our ſervants.

Viſited by the Myar and a Bramin, who took our names, together with thoſe of our ſervants. Many gentlemen alarmed on this occaſion.

We have diſpatched a letter by the waſherman to the unfortunate men who arrived here a few days ago, requeſting to know in what manner they fell into the enemy's hands, and offering our aſſiſtance in money, to the amount of fifty fanams.

Received the following from one of them, Mr. Lilly.

"I HAVE been in priſon going on ſeven "months. We were brought up here during "the ceſſation of arms in irons, upon one pice "and one ſeer of rice per day; upon our arri- "val here, they gave us two pice per day, and "put all in irons, only two men who were ill, "and they excuſed me. There is no officer "here, only one ſurgeon, a foreigner, whoſe "name is King, and one who follows the civil "line; and I was taken as I came to buy a ſhip "at Mangalore. There are fourteen European "ſoldiers, beſides about thirty ſepoys, that were "caſt away in a gale of wind, who were taken "as priſoners.

"LILLY."

Mr. Lilly's letter not proving ſatisfactory, we have in conſequence forwarded another.

Feb. 13. Fourteen Subadars, or Captains, and a number of ſepoys, have been carrying mud for many months paſt: a drudgery intended to force them into the Sultan's ſervice.

14. A European boy informed our ſervants at the well this evening, that he, with nine more,

were taken priſoners at Nagram; that they were drummers and fifers of his Majeſty's 101ſt and 102d regiments; that they had been circumciſed; and were at preſent under the charge of the head Derroga, Haſſin Ally Cawn. The boy earneſtly requeſted of the ſervants, that they would inform us, that they were uſed barbarouſly; and hoped that, upon our enlargement, we would take an active part in repreſenting to the government of Madras their wretched ſituation.

Feb. 15. Our ſervants again ſaw the European boy at the well, and aſſured him, by our deſire, that every exertion in our power ſhould be made on our enlargement; and requeſted an account of himſelf and comrades, in writing.—He replied, that none of them could write.

19. Sixty-ſeven circumciſed Europeans are at Myſore. Meſſrs Speediman, Rutlidge, Serjeant-major Groves, with ſeveral others, ſtill remain at Gunjum Pettah.

Received the following from Mr. Lilly.

"Gentlemen,

"The ceſſation of arms took place with Tippoo Saib the 2d of Auguſt, for four months.

"We

"We were ſent up here before the expiration of "it. I cannot tell how they managed the other "part of the negotiation. The negotiators for "peace were not arrived in camp when we came "away; but it is certain they arrived here the 25th "of December: they expected them in camp when "we came away. Tippoo carried his guns to "the brink of the ditch; he attempted ſtorming "twice, and was repulſed with great loſs; they "were ſo cloſe in ſome places, that our people "threw fourteen inch ſhells over the breaſt-work "out of their hands upon the French. The "ſea don't waſh the walls of Mangalore. Two "thouſand Europeans have arrived from Europe "laſt year. General Stewart commands at Ma-"dras. The firſt battalion of ſepoys was taken "at Nagram, but Captain Bowles went up to "Bombay before they were taken. I am exceed-"ingly obliged to you for your kind offer. I am "not in want of caſh at preſent; if I ſhould, I'll "make bold to trouble you; but we are all in "expectation of being releaſed in a few days, as "we have been muſtered twice, and our names "taken, to ſend to Tippoo, in order for our en-"largement.

"Mr. King thanks you for your kind offer; "he is not much in want of caſh as yet; he has "not a grain of tartar emetic, but can ſend you

" ſome epicacuana, with ſome bark, if you ſhould " want it."

14th February.

A ſubſcription of twenty-eight fanams, in order to requite the waſherman for the letters carried to and from Mr. Lilly.

The ſubſcriptions of late have come ſo heavy on us, that we are obliged to make four dinners in the week of rice and ghee, each dinner ſeven caſh.

Feb. 21. Two ſepoys, who are at preſent attached to our guard, have given us the melancholy accounts of our brother ſufferers at Kavel Drook. They ſay, that the Keeladar of Kavel Drook received orders from the Bahadar to diſpatch the whole of them by poiſon; that the Keeladar made no ſecret, but explained his orders, and obſerved, that unleſs they were inſtantly put into execution, his own life would pay for his diſobedience. The firſt he called poſitively refuſed to taſte the poiſon. The Keeladar inſtantly ordered ſeveral Caffres to ſeize and tie him up to a tamarind tree. After being moſt ſeverely flogged, he at laſt conſented to drink the finiſhing draught. Many others were flogged and inhumanly treated, on account of their oppoſition.

The

The ſepoys obſerved, that the ſcenes of diſtreſs, after the poiſon began to operate, were beyond deſcription; ſome being perfectly inſenſible, others thrown into violent convulſions, and others employing the few moments they had to live in committing themſelves to God, and in embracing and taking a laſt farewell of their companions and friends. Immediately after the whole were diſpatched, the armourers knocked off their irons, and their bodies were then thrown into a wood as a prey for tygers,

Feb. 27. Wrote to Mr. Lilly, requeſting he would be circumſpect in writing, as a detection might prove fatal to us all.

29. Report of Tippoo's having got poſſeſſion of Mangalore by ſtratagem; this has damped our proſpect, and diffuſed gloomy ideas.

Received ſome medicine from Mr. Lilly, brought by the waſherman, for which we gave him two fanams.

March 1. The whole of us ordered to fall in, in order to be muſtered by a Myar and a Bramin: they ſay that peace is broken off, and that we are to be ſent to Kavel Drook.

2. In conſequence of yeſterday's information, relative to our being ſent to Kavel Drook, the whole of us have ſeriouſly and unanimouſly determined to avail ourſelves of the firſt opportunity to make our eſcape, by murdering the whole of our guards, and ſelling every drop of blood as dear as poſſible; being thoroughly convinced, that if we ſubmit tamely, we ſhall, on our arrival at Kavel Drook, be diſpatched in the ſame manner as General Mathews's officers.

One of the circumciſed European boys informed our ſervants at the well, this morning, that peace is broken off.

March 7. Received the following letter from the ſoldier's priſon, written by a black man; the ſame who had been interpreter to the Keeladar of the above-mentioned particulars reſpecting the death of General Mathews.

" Since my arrival here, I have inſtructed my-
" ſelf to learn Engliſh, from a ſpelling-book
" which I purchaſed from a European, which is
" now entirely broke to pieces; I therefore
" humbly beg the favour, if you have any book,
" of any ſort, to ſpare, to ſend me by the bearer,
" that will be a means of my not loſing what
" little I have learned. I muſt inform you, that
" my

"my teacher, Serjeant Hillingſworth, departed "this life about twelve months ago. The Eu- "ropeans taken with Colonel Baillie join with "me in their duty to you, and all their officers. "Serjeant Brazier ſends his duty to Captains "Menteith and Wragg, and to inform them, "that there is himſelf and eleven privates re- "maining here: Serjeant Macormick deceaſed "the 29th of December, 1782. All the news we "have is, that it is a peace, and that ſome of our "gentlemen are with the Nabob, and expected "here daily. At about eight or nine months ago, "a poor diſtreſſed European woman, with a fine "boy, and big with child, taken in Nagram, be- "longing to a Serjeant of grenadiers of the hun- "dredth regiment; ſince which ſhe has been de- "livered of a girl: her allowance is one pice "and one ſeer and a half of rice per day. About "ſix months ago, twenty-ſeven Europeans, of "the different regiments, were taken on the "Malabar coaſt, and ſent amongſt us, which "makes in all ſixty-two Europeans: our allow- "ance is two pice and one ſeer of rice per day.

"VANKATACHELLIEM."

The guards acquaint us, that ſeveral black priſoners have been taken out in the dead of the night, and murdered, and that they ſeriouſly felt for our ſituation.

In

In conſequence of the miſerable ſituation of the European woman and her two infants, we have raiſed, with the utmoſt difficulty, twenty gold fanams; and at the ſame time have aſſured her, that we will, on every occaſion, be aſſiſting.

March 7. At nine o'clock, P. M. Sid Abram, our black Commandant, was, by an order from the Keeladar, removed from our priſon. This truly good man was exceedingly affected at his being ſeparated from us, and frequently requeſted, that whenever we ſhould be enlarged, we would remember him to his wife and mother; as he never would conſent to enter into the barbarian's ſervice, which would, of courſe, prevent him from ever ſeeing his family.

9. Sid Abram, with twelve other black officers, taken priſoners ſince the commencement of the war, are all in irons, with the daily allowance of three caſh and one ſeer of raggee.

One of our gentlemen alarmed us all exceedingly by a fit of inſanity, during which he raved on the ſubjects that moſt concerned us all, and that were uppermoſt in our minds. He had been afflicted with ſeveral fits before this time; but we always endeavoured to conceal his ſituation from the Havaldar of the guard, being apprehenſive that

that he would have him removed from our priſon to ſome place of confinement, which ſolitude, and perhaps other circumſtances, might render ſtill more diſmal. This day, however, he was extremely ill; and made repeated application to the Havaldar to have an interview with the Keeladar, to whom, he ſaid, he had ſomething to communicate of the laſt importance.—This alarmed us exceedingly: for when we reflected on the conſtant fears of the barbarians, leſt we ſhould make our eſcape, either by force or fraud, or find means of communicating ſome uſeful intelligence to our countrymen, and at the ſame time conſidered that ſo many of our officers, ſoldiers, and ſepoys, had been ſlaughtered in cold blood, by the ſword, or forced to die by poiſon; there was not a doubt that the diſcovery of our utenſils, our correſpondence with the other priſons, and ſome parts of our converſation, would be followed by certain and ſpeedy death. We judged it expedient, in the preſent extremity, however much againſt our inclinations, to acquaint the Havaldar that he was really inſane. This the Havaldar would not believe; but affirmed, that we all of us told lies, as he concluded, he ſaid, from the circumſtance that the gentleman diſcourſed to him with perfect reaſon and propriety. The inſane perſon, unfortunately for us, ſpoke the Mahomedan language with

with great fluency: if he had not, we could have told our own ſtory.

We endeavoured to reaſon with the Havaldar, and mentioned many particulars in our own vindication, in vain. We then requeſted that our ſervants might be called, and examined whether they had not frequently perceived him in a ſtate of inſanity before this time. They were accordingly called, and they confirmed every thing that we had ſaid. The Havaldar then ſaid, that he believed there was ſome truth in what we had aſſerted, but that he muſt make a report of what had happened. We entreated of him to make as favourable a report as poſſible, as we would be exceedingly happy if our fellow-officer, though unhappily diſordered in his underſtanding, ſhould be removed from us.

The Havaldar requeſted, and inſiſted with him to declare what he had to ſay. But this he refuſed to do, again and again, ſaying that he would not communicate the important buſineſs to any other perſon than the Keeladar, and that he would be revenged on the whole of us, as we were a ſet of villains and raſcals, and that we had made many attempts to poiſon him. In fact, he had frequently entertained ideas of this kind,

and

and would often attend and overlook the ſervants, while they were employed in dreſſing the victuals. It was fortunate for us, and the circumſtance, beyond all doubt, which under Providence, ſaved our lives, that his madneſs turned upon poiſon, and not upon our having papers, journals, knives, ſciſſars, and other things concealed, and, above all, on our ſecret correſpondence with the other priſons.

Several gentlemen endeavoured to reaſon with this unhappy man, to no purpoſe. In the courſe of the evening, the Havaldar waited on the Keeladar, to acquaint him, that an Engliſh officer, in one of the priſons, wiſhed anxiouſly to ſee him, having ſomething to communicate to him of the greateſt conſequence. The Havaldar was deſired to come again to the Keeladar next morning.

From the time that the inſane perſon applied to the Havaldar, we were buſily employed in burning papers, digging holes in the ground, in which we might hide things, and in putting things under the tiles of the priſon, until we ſhould have an opportunity of burning them afterwards. During the courſe of the evening we burned upwards of one hundred ſheets of paper, which we had got in by ſtealth, in order to amuſe our-

ourſelves by learning different languages.* The people who brought in thoſe things were equally alarmed with us, and dreaded the fatal conſequences of a diſcovery.

The inſane perſon, with a pair of irons of about eight pounds in weight, began to walk about in the priſon at five o'clock in the evening, and continued to walk, at a great pace, without ceaſing, till two o'clock in the morning, raving all the while, and vowing vengeance againſt his fellow-priſoners. The ſtate of our minds, on that horrible night, is not to be deſcribed. It was propoſed at one time to put him inſtantly to death, and, by that ſacrifice, to ſave the lives of the whole. But kind Providence ſaved him from that fate, and us from that fatal deed.

At laſt the wiſhed-for morning came, and about eight o'clock the Havaldar was announced.—Our emotions were now wrought up to the higheſt point of anxiety and ſuſpence. The Havaldar

* In Hindoſtan the children of the common people are taught reading and arithmetic in the open air: and they learn to diſtinguiſh the letters and figures they uſe by forming them with their own hands, either in the ſand or on boards. Others form their figures, letters, words, and ſentences on paper.

dar, coming forward into the priſon yard, called out for the inſane gentleman. The queſtion on which our ſafety or deſtruction now hung in ſuſpence, was, Is the inſane perſon to be carried before the Keeladar or no? Our joy was extreme when we heard the Havaldar tell him, that if he had any thing to ſay, the Keeladar had ordered that he ſhould mention it to him. Yet ſtill there was reaſon to apprehend that he might make ſuch diſcoveries as the Havaldar could not paſs over, though he was naturally humane, had taken a preſent, and was inclined to ſave us. We therefore, during the courſe of the converſation which he held with the Havaldar, crowded around him, ſpoke in a threatening tone of voice, uſed menacing looks and geſtures, and did every thing to embarraſs him, and excite his madneſs. To the Havaldar, who repeatedly put the queſtion, What have you to diſcover? he conſtantly replied, that he would not reveal it but to the Keeladar, and poured forth at the ſame time indefinite reproaches of murderous intentions towards himſelf againſt his fellow-priſoners. The Havaldar then told him that he was a fool, and deſired that he would go about his buſineſs, meaning that he ſhould retire to his cell.

We then requeſted of the Havaldar, that when he ſhould be relieved, he would report to the Com-

Commanding Officer who ſhould ſucceed him, the inſanity of our fellow-priſoner. If we had uſed this precaution at firſt, we might have avoided this dreadful ſcene. But we had compaſſion on the infirmity of this poor man, which was brought on by long confinement, lowneſs of ſpirits, and the melancholy proſpect of death, or perpetual ſlavery.

We felt as much joy at being freed from this dangerous embarraſſment, as if we had been ſet at entire liberty. The inſane perſon had in his poſſeſſion copies of many letters, with papers, knives, and other contraband things. Theſe we wiſhed above all things to get out of his hands. And, after this violent fit of inſanity, he fortunately recovered ſo far, in the courſe of a few days, as to be reaſoned into the propriety of giving up or deſtroying thoſe ſuſpicious articles. He behaved pretty well during the remainder of our confinement. He is now on half pay.

A current report that peace is broken off, and that our ambaſſadors have embarked for Tellicherry.

Raiſed by public ſubſcription twenty-eight fanams, which we ſent by a truſty hand to our good friend Sid Abram.

Sid Abram acknowledges the receipt of the money, and is very thankful.

For theſe four preceding nights, many black priſoners have been murdered, and a report at preſent prevails, that they intend viſiting our priſon for the ſame end.

We learned afterwards, from undoubted authority, that Lieutenant Mathews, of the Bengal Eſtabliſhment, brother to General Mathews, and Lieutenant Weldon, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, were, by orders of Tippoo, taken out of the fort at Bednore, at ten o'clock at night, carried to the Jungle, a place over-grown with long graſs and underwood, and there cut to pieces: of which the officers confined at Bednore received the moſt certain accounts the next morning, when the clothes of theſe unfortunate victims were brought to them for ſale. Directions had, in fact, been ſent by the Sultan to murder all the Engliſh officers in the different priſons in his dominions, who would not enter into his ſervice: but intelligence being received that Commiſſioners for negociating the treaty of peace had ſet out for Madras, theſe bloody orders were countermanded.

The following is a liſt of the officers who were poiſoned with General Mathews.

King's Officers.

Captain Dougald Campbell, of the 98th regiment.
Captain Alſton, of the 100th regiment.
Captain Fiſh, ditto.
Mr. Gifford, ſurgeon's aſſiſtant, ditto.

Company's Eſtabliſhment at Bombay.

Brigadier-General Mathews.
Lieutenant Young, Brigade-Major.
Major Fewtrill.
Captain Clift.
Captain Gottick.
Lieutenant Barnwell.
Captain Jackſon, artillery.
Lieutenant Olivier, ditto.
Captain Richardſon, 3d battalion of ſepoys.
Capt. Eames, 5th battalion ditto.
Captain Lendrum, 11th ditto.
Capt. M'Culloch, 15th ditto.
Charles Stewart, Eſq. Commiſſary.
Charles Cheek, Eſq. deputy ditto.

From the ſoldiers priſon.

"On the 27th October, the Keeladar ſent for "Vankatachelliem, our linguiſt, and told him to "acquaint

"acquaint us all, that the Nabob and Compa-
"ny had made peace, and that we would ſoon
"be ſent to Madras. The whole of us at that
"time were hand-cuffed two and two together.
"Soon after, the Keeladar came into the priſon,
"and ordered the hand-cuffs to be taken off.—
"We were ſhut up together, at that time, about
"twelve o'clock at night, and remained ſo forty
"days. About four months ago, in the dead of
"the night, we received the ſecond alarm of
"that kind. We were hand-cuffed ſingly, both
"hands, ſince which the Bramin has been four
"different times to enquire for mechanics,
"taken all our names down, our pay, batta, and
"rank in the Company's ſervice, which makes us
"all very uneaſy, as we cannot imagine what
"they want to do with us. Another freſh alarm,
"that there has been a number of black priſo-
"ners taken and maſſacred, which is tranſacted
"every night. We hear that a Commandant
"and ſome ſepoys, belonging to Colonel Braith-
"waite's detachment, have ſuffered the above
"fate."

March 18. A letter from Colonel Braithwaite, acknowledging the receipt of ſeventeen fanams, for the uſe of Captain Leech.

19. Sent Captain Leech a ſupply of eighteen fanams. The Subadars who were confined with him, as alſo General Mathews's ſervant, are removed.

22. Ten o'clock, P. M. viſited by the Myar and a Bramin, who ordered Captains Baird, Menteith, and Lindſey's irons to be knocked off.—Theſe gentlemen were removed from our priſon, under the charge of one Havaldar and two ſepoys.

Three o'clock, P. M. the Havaldar returns, and acquaints us, that the three gentlemen are at preſent with Colonel Braithwaite; that they were removed to him in conſequence of peace; and that we ſhould, in all probability, have our irons knocked off in a day or two, and be ſent to Madras. Little credit is given by us to this piece of information, having been ſo frequently diſappointed before; and we are very uneaſy, and very apprehenſive that they intend very unfair means with Colonel Braithwaite, and indeed the whole of us, as reports have been current for many days, that Tippoo Saib intends murdering the whole of the European priſoners.

While we were in this gloomy ſtate of mind, and ready to ſink under the preſſure of melancholy

choly and black deſpair; behold, within the walls of our diſmal dungeon, a Bramin ſent from Tippoo Sultan, with a formal intimation of the final concluſion of peace! and that our irons were to be knocked off the next day.—The emotions that ſprung up in our breaſts on receiving this intelligence were ſo ſtrong and lively, and raiſed to ſuch a point of elevation and exceſs as almoſt bordered on pain!—We gave vent to the ardour of our minds in the loudeſt as well as moſt irregular and extravagant expreſſions of congratulations.—The whole priſon reſounded with the frantic voice of ſudden as well as exceſſive joy and exultation. This tumult having in ſome degree ſubſided, though we were incapable of entire compoſure and reſt, a propoſal was made, and moſt readily embraced, to collect all the ready money in our poſſeſſion, without the leaſt regard to equal ſhares or proportions, and to celebrate the joyful news of our approaching deliverance with ſome plantain fritters and ſherbet; the only articles of luxury we could then command, on account of our extreme poverty. By nine o'clock at night ſupper was announced, conſiſting of ſixty dozen of plantains, and a lage chatty of ſherbet. Every one being ſeated on the ground, the repaſt was received with the utmoſt content and ſatisfaction. Friends and toaſts were drank as long as our

chatty ſtood out; and ſuch was the agitation of our minds, that there was not one of us who felt the leaſt inclination, or indeed, who poſſeſſed the power to compoſe himſelf for ſleep. We now waited with the utmoſt impatience for the return of day, and were impreſſed with a ſtrong deſire that our irons might be knocked off immediately; but, to our great mortification, about ſeven in the morning, there arrived only one armourer. Every one ſtruggled to have his fetters knocked off firſt. Promiſes, threats, buſtling and joſtling; every expedient that could be imagined, was put in practice, in order to obtain that which would come unſought for in the courſe of a few minutes, or hours at furtheſt. The ſame men who had ſuffered the rigours of impriſonment, and the menaces of a barbarous policy, with invincible reſolution and patience, as well as with mutual ſympathy and complaiſance, for years, were ſo tranſported at the near proſpect of liberty, that the delay of a few moments ſeemed now to be more inſupportable than even the tedious languor of our long, moſt alarming, and anxious confinement. Between two and three in the afternoon, our irons were all knocked off, and then we were conducted, under the charge of a guard, to the Keeladar. In croſſing the parade, to Hyder's palace, ſeveral European boys, in the Mahomedan dreſs,

dreſs, who had been forcibly circumciſed, came near to us, imploring our aſſiſtance in a moſt diſtreſsful manner. The only conſolation we could give them, was to aſſure them, that whenever we arrived at Madras, their melancholy ſituation ſhould be faithfully and feelingly deſcribed to the Governor, in order to procure their enlargement. We were now brought before the Keeladar, who was lodged in Hyder's palace, and ſat in a veranda, ſurrounded by his guards. Our names being taken down, with our rank, and other circumſtances, we were conducted to Colonel Braithwaite's priſon, where we found the Colonel, Captains Baird, Lindſey, Menteith, and Enſign Holmes. Here we remained ſeveral hours, and were in a moſt friendly manner ſupplied by theſe gentlemen with money, which gave us an opportunity of rewarding thoſe good men who had at different times been on our guard. Towards the cloſe of the evening, after the ſoldiers and black priſoners were collected, we moved off from the fort to Soomner-Pettah, a village diſtant about two miles. On our arrival at the choultry of this place, we had an opportunity of converſing with our ſoldiers.—Their marks of affection, reſpect, and joy, at meeting with their officers, after ſo long a ſeparation, were not leſs ſincere than extravagant. The ſight of the country, the fair

face of nature, in a rich and delicious climate, from which we had been ſo long excluded, excited in our minds the moſt various and pleaſing emotions, and ſtruck us all with the force of novelty. At the ſame time, it may not be thought unimportant to obſerve, that we had loſt, in ſome degree, that intuitive diſcernment of the magnitude and relations of objects, which is the effect of experience, habit, and the aſſociation of ideas. At Soomner Pettah, we were indulged with permiſſion to walk about in the bazar, and to bathe in the river, a moſt delicious as well as ſalutary refreſhment. Every object, and every recreation became now a ſource of exquiſite ſatisfaction and delight; all that ſatiety and indifference to the bounty of nature, which ariſes from undiſturbed poſſeſſion, and perhaps ſtill more from vicious habits, being effectually overcome and deſtroyed by the painful purification of months added to months, in a ſucceſſion that threatened to terminate either in perpetual ſlavery or death.

March 25. Having received no allowance of rice, or the three pice for the preceding day, we aſked for ſome victuals; and ſome hours after, a ſeer of rice, and three pice, were delivered to each perſon. We were amazed, and did not know how to account for the neglect of our pittance; for as peace was concluded, we naturally ima-

imagined our allowance would rather have been augmented than curtailed; but on making enquiry into the cauſe, we were told that the Commiſſioners of Madras, employed in negociating the treaty, had ſtipulated no kind of proviſion for us; and that the Nabob had ſent orders to furniſh us with juſt as much as would keep us from ſtarving, and no more.

Though our irons were knocked off, it was a long time before we recovered the uſe of our limbs, and learned to walk with perfect freedom: never was the inveterate power of habit more forcibly diſplayed than on this occaſion. We could never get the idea of our being in fetters out of our heads. No effort of our minds, no act of volition, could, for ſeveral days, overcome the habit of making the ſhort and conſtrained ſteps to which we had ſo long been accuſtomed. Our crippled manner of walking was a ſubject of laughter to ourſelves as well as to others.

On the 25th of March, doolies having been provided for the ſick, and a few bad horſes, we began our march to Vellore, the place agreed on by the treaty for the delivering up of the Britiſh priſoners, guarded by an eſcort of one hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry, under the command of a native Commandant.

On

On the 15th of April, we arrived at Ooſcotah, a fortreſs ſituated eighteen miles eaſtward of Bangalore, and ſixty miles diſtant from the paſs into the Carnatic. Here the whole of the Britiſh priſoners who had been taken at the battle of Tricoallum, or of Perambankum, near Conjeveram, and at Bednore, were aſſembled together. Their number amounted to nearly one hundred and eighty officers, nine hundred European ſoldiers, and ſixteen hundred ſepoys, beſides ſome hundreds of ſervants of different caſtes and occupations. The officers who had been confined at Bangalore, having received frequent ſupplies of caſh from Madras, had it in their power to ſupply us, as well as the gentlemen from Bednore, with many articles, of which we ſtood greatly in need. This many of them did, ſharing their clothes and money with ſuch of their brother-officers and fellow-ſoldiers as moſt wanted their aſſiſtance.

On communicating to each other our reſpective ſufferings, it appeared that the officers who were left wounded at Bednore, were much better uſed than at any other place. They were permitted to keep all their clothes, doolies, cots, chairs, tables, knives, forks, and other articles. They were indulged with the free uſe of pen, ink, and paper. A certain part of the rampart, including two towers, was given up to them,

in

in which they were at liberty to range about at pleaſure. Their ſervants were permitted to go into the bazar to purchaſe whatever they choſe to ſend for, though their daily allowance was only one ſeer of rice, and one pice to each.—They were allowed a French ſurgeon to attend them; and when they recovered of their wounds they were not put in irons.

Enſign Manly, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, who had been taken in a ſally at Mangalore, was ſent to Bednore, and there confined in the ſame priſon with ſome ſepoys, with no other allowance than one pice per day, and a ſeer of raggee.

The officers who were confined at Darwaur, a fort near Goa, were lodged with the private men, upon the ſame allowance with the other officers who were in priſon at Bednore; but they were afterwards removed to Simoga, where they were kept on a ſeer of raggee and one pice each a day. Their irons were connected together by a ſtraight bar, in ſuch a manner that the unfortunate priſoners could neither expand their legs nor contract them.

The gentlemen confined at Bangalore were not only permitted to purchaſe every article they wanted; but during the latter part of their confinement

finement they were allowed to viſit each other in their different priſons. The private Europeans alſo received different treatmenr in the different parts of the country in which they were impriſoned. The ſepoys were treated with equal ſeverity every where.

Four days before the Britiſh officers were removed from Bednore, all the Commandants, Subadars, and Jemmidars, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, who had been taken priſoners by Tippoo Sultan Bahadar, were by his orders, removed from thence, and have not ſince been heard of. It is but too eaſy to conjecture the fate of thoſe unfortunate men, when we reflect that he had repeatedly threatened to put them to death for refuſing to enter into his ſervice, and on the melancholy examples exhibited of the certainty and rigour with which his bloody menaces were carried into execution. But I have been enabled to give a full and particular account of the Bednore priſoners, by an officer who was of the number of thoſe unfortunate ſufferers.

The ſiege of Bednore, of which ſome account ſhall be given hereafter, having laſted ſeventeen days, a ceſſation of arms took place on the 24th of April, 1783, and, on the 26th

of

of the ſame month, Brigadier-General Richard Mathews, Commander in Chief of the forces on the weſtern ſide of India, called a council of war, who, after deliberating on the ſituation of affairs, came to a reſolution of capitulating on honourable terms.

The capitulation having been ſigned, the hoſtages received, and doolies ſent for the ſick and wounded, the garriſon marched out of the fort, with the honours of war, on the 28th of April, 1783; and, after piling their arms on the glacis, were immediately eſcorted, by a ſtrong body of the enemy, to a tank about half a mile beyond the Onore Gate, where the General was informed he muſt encamp that night; to which he reluctantly conſented, it being his intention to have marched two miles further. When the whole came up, the enemy ſurrounded us, and poſted ſentries on every ſide, beyond whom no perſon was permitted to paſs. The General calling for his body-guard, was informed, that the enemy, violating the terms of capitulation, had forcibly taken away their arms and ammunition immediately on their leaving the fort; and had alſo deprived many of the officers of their ſide arms. Lieutenant Mackenzie of the 100th, who had

a few days before been ſhot through the breaſt, was forced out of his dooly by the enemy, with their bayonets, as he was coming out of the fort; and ſeveral others were treated in the like cruel manner. Captain Facey, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, with fifty ſick and wounded, were detained in the fort 'till next morning, with Mr. Shields, aſſiſtant-ſurgeon; which latter gentleman informed us, that an Engliſhman in the Nawaub's ſervice had taken an opportunity of telling him, he was extremely ſorry to ſee him and his fellow-ſufferers in ſo miſerable a ſituation: that there was not the ſmalleſt hope of being given up, or of getting away, as the Nawaub had employed ſeveral artificers in forging irons for the garriſon, ever ſince his arrival before Bednore; and that he himſelf had been taken and uſed in the ſame manner in the Carnatic, after the troops had capitulated.

Early in the morning, while we were preparing to march, the General received a meſſage from the Nawaub, deſiring to ſee him, together with Captains Eames and Lendrum, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, and Mr. Charles Stewart, the Pay-maſter. He accordingly went, accompanied by thoſe gentlemen, and carried ſeveral of the officers ſervants along with him,

in hopes of recovering thoſe articles of which they had been plundered. Soon after their departure, a good bazar, furniſhed with a great variety of proviſions and other articles, arrived in camp; at the ſame time people came to carry away the doolies, out of which they threw the ſick and wounded in a moſt inhuman manner; dragging thoſe who had lately ſuffered amputation by the ſtumps, and leaving them in that painful condition upon the bare ground, entirely expoſed to the heat of the ſun. Being aſked the cauſe of ſuch barbarous uſage, the inhuman wretches replied, with the moſt inſulting indifference, "We have received orders to make the doolies "two feet longer." The troops had waited with the greateſt impatience for the General's return, 'till five o'clock in the evening, when intelligence was received, that the General, and the gentlemen who accompanied him, were, immediately on their arrival at the Durbar, (without being admitted into the Nawaub's preſence) made cloſe priſoners. While we were lamenting the miſerable proſpect held out to us by theſe melancholy tidings, and waiting the iſſue in a ſtate of the utmoſt anxiety, we were alarmed by the arrival of an additional force of the enemy, when the guards turned out and poſted double ſentries all round us; their deſign was eaſily ſeen through, though they endea-

voured to lull our ſuſpicions with the pretext, that thoſe guards which had been firſt placed over us, were a part of Mahomed Ally's troops, who were going to be relieved, in order to be ſent to Mangalore. The next morning we perceived the enemy had ſent ſpies into every part of our camp, and that emiſſaries were employed to entice the troops to enter into their ſervice.

Early the next morning a report prevailed, that the troops were to be plundered of their property, which we ſoon found to be true; for at ten o'clock the bazar was taken away, the guards ordered under arms, all the European officers ſent for immediately to the ſpot of ground from whence the bazar had been removed; where we were, one by one, plundered by the enemy, in the moſt rude and ſcandalous manner, of our horſes, palanquins, money, plate, watches, and other valuables. In ſhort, we were deprived of every article, except our bedding and clothes, and ſearched moſt minutely in every part, without the leaſt regard to decency. The European ſoldiers, black officers, and ſepoys, with their wives and children, as alſo all the camp-followers, were ſearched and plundered in the ſame indecent, infamous manner; and, in the afternoon, were marched under a ſtrong guard to Bednore; the ſick and

wounded

wounded being left to periſh on the ground: ſhortly after the European officers, with their ſervants, were likewiſe conducted to Bednore, where we were cloſely confined in the barracks, which had been formerly occupied by a battalion of our own ſepoys; and, from the time thoſe remorſeleſs villains began to ſearch and plunder us, we had nothing of any kind to eat, 'till twelve o'clock the next day, at which time they brought and delivered to each perſon, one pice, and a ſeer of the coarſeſt rice, which they informed us was to be the daily allowance of officers and ſervants.

On the 5th of the ſame month, all our ſervants, except one to each officer, were taken away. The expreſſions of ſorrow which thoſe poor creatures ſhewed on this occaſion cannot be eaſily deſcribed: their affection to their maſters, added to the apprehenſions of being led away to death or ſlavery for life, produced the ſtrongeſt emotions of grief; and as we could only lament their fate, without affording them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance, our minds were moſt deeply affected.

On the 6th, the ſubaltern officers, belonging to Annanpore, were brought priſoners to the barracks. They informed us of their having

ſeen the officers of Cowladroog, and the garriſons of that place and Annanpore, in irons; and alſo, that all the fine young men of the third and fifteenth battalions of ſepoys, were, by order of the Nawaub, forcibly taken away, in order to be made ſlaves, and put into his Chaylah battalions.

On the 7th, Lieutenant Morriſon of the 100th regiment, and Lieutenants Mackenzie and Barnewell, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, were brought in chains; the two former gentlemen were taken at Cundapore; the latter at the commencement of the ſiege, with Captain Gotlich of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment. Theſe gentlemen informed us, they had been in irons for ſome days.—The ſame day Doctor Carmichael, of the Bombay Eſtabliſtment, was ſent for by the Nawaub, to viſit Brigadier-General Mathews, whom he found much indiſpoſed; and by whom he was informed, that the Nawaub was endeavouring to intimidate him into a ſurrender of all the forts in the low country, by threatening to blow him away from a gun, in caſe of his non-compliance.

On the 8th, in the morning, the Captains belonging to the garriſons of Cowladroog and Annanpore, together with Captain Gotlich, (who,

(who, as before-mentioned, was taken priſoner at the commencement of the ſiege) were brought under a guard to the barracks, and were ſhortly after removed (with the reſt of the Captains, Mr. Gyfford, Surgeon's-Mate, of the 100th regiment, Leiutenants Barnewell and Olivier, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, and Mr. Chick, Deputy Commiſſary) to a ſeparate place of confinement.

On the 9th we were ordered to prepare to march, and were informed we ſhould not be allowed coolies to carry our baggage: we therefore packed up as much linen as we could well carry ourſelves, and, giving our bedding to our ſervants, we all, except Captain Pyne and Enſign Jenour, of the 102d regiment, and Captain Facey, with Lieutenants Williamſon, Baird, and Lee, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, who were in too deſperate a ſituation, from their wounds, to be removed, went into the ſtreet, where we were firſt ſtripped of our coats, and then chained two and two, by the hands, three of the officers being linked to private ſoldiers; after which, we were a ſecond time ſearched and plundered. We were then ſecured in another houſe 'till about three o'clock in the afternoon, when we were led through crouds of people, in this ignominious manner, (more

like criminals going to the place of execution, than Britiſh officers made priſoners contrary to the rules of war) to the enemy's camp, a ſhort diſtance beyond the Delly Gate, where we heard we were to be confined in a ſtrong fort, called Chittledroog. The enemy, at the time we were leaving the barracks, gave us an inſtance of the treatment we might in future expect to receive, in their behaviour to Lieutenant Alexander Macdonald, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, who was ſo extremely ill that he could ſcarcely ſtand. This gentleman requeſted permiſſion to remain behind with the wounded officers, which they obſtinately refuſed, beating him and dragging him out by the heels: but, to the honour of the French, we were informed that their treatment of Lieutenant Lambert, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, whom they had taken dangerouſly wounded at the commencement of the ſiege, was full of tenderneſs and humanity.

On the 10th, in the morning, as we were moving off the ground, each officer received three pice for that day's ſubſiſtence. We marched about fifteen miles, and found the apprehenſions of yeſterday fully juſtified by this day's uſage on the road; ſeveral of the gentlemen who were ill, and much fatigued by the intenſe heat of the ſun,

ſun, and the want of water, attempting to reſt themſelves under a tree, were beat in a moſt unmerciful manner by the enemy, with ſwords and ſticks, while others were driven on with the butts of their firelocks, ſpit upon, and abuſed in the groſſeſt manner. Whenever we approached a town or village, four or five men were advanced in the front with horns and tom-toms, that the inhabitants might, by their diſcordant muſic, be aſſembled together to gaze at us as we paſſed through. We proceeded on in this miſerable condition, each day bringing on a renewal of our ſufferings, 'till our arrival at Simoga, a fort on the banks of a river, ſixty miles eaſtward of Bednore, our allowance having been increaſed to one fanam each, per day, and coolies furniſhed to carry our bedding and clothes, whenever the commanding officer of the eſcort thought proper to procure them. As we were to halt here one day, we fondly expected ſome little indulgencies, eſpecially for thoſe gentlemen who were ill; but our inhuman enemy, as if delighted with every freſh opportunity of augmenting our afflictions, when intreated to afford ſome aſſiſtance to Lieutenant Fireworker Weſt, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, and Serjeant Dobbins, of the 102d regiment, who had been ſtruck with the ſun, owing to our long and ſevere marches, abſolutely refuſed it, ſay-

ing, "they were only drunk," and ſeemed to exult in their miſery, although the one was quite ſpeechleſs, and the other raving mad: nor were they ſatisfied with this, but even extended their brutiſh inſults to the lifeleſs body of Lieutenant Waugh, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, whoſe death was evidently haſtened by the injuries he had received upon the road.

On the 14th, we had the misfortune to loſe Lieutenant Clements, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, who, on his departure from Bednore, was in perfect good health, but on the laſt day's march received a ſevere ſtroke of the ſun, of which he died, chained to Enſign Gilkie, of the ſame Eſtabliſhment; who remained in that dreadful ſituation ſeveral hours. In the evening, Lieutenant Sutton of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, was ſeized with the cramp and ſpaſms in his ſtomach. Lieutenant Reddie, who was hand-cuffed to him, and in great danger of having his arm broke, unrivetted his irons by permiſſion of one of the eſcort, for which he was immediately taken to a tree, and threatened to be hanged, and ropes were prepared for that purpoſe; the Jemmidar informing us he had received orders to hang every one who ſhould even attempt to free himſelf from his ſetters: but on a ſubmiſſive repreſentation of the buſineſs,

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Reddie was ſo far indulged, as to eſcape with a few laſhes only. We again made application for aſſiſtance for Lieutenant Sutton, to which we received the following brutal reply, mingled with a large ſhare of eaſtern abuſe: "Let him die, and when he is dead, we will "drag him out of the camp by his heels:" however, by the merciful hand of Providence, he recovered in a few hours.

We left this place on the morning of the 15th, and, after a ſhort march, arrived at Holly Honoor, a fort ſituated on the eaſt bank of a rapid river, and, for the firſt time ſince we began our march, were brought under cover. As the coolies were bringing Enſign Cadogan of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, who was extremely ill, into the fort, he endeavoured to ſhift his poſture in the quilt in which he was carried, for which he received a blow on the head, and died in a ſhort time afterwards; when he was, in like manner with the former deceaſed officers, ſtripped of every article, and in that naked ſtate thrown into an hole by the ſide of the river, without ſuffering us to pay our laſt duty to the deceaſed. As we approached the deſtined place of confinement, our eſcort began to relax a little in their ſeverity, and ſupplying bullocks to ſome of the ſick to ride on (for the uſe of

which we gave part of the few cloathes we had with us) by ſlow marches we arrived on the 21ſt of May, 1783, at Chittledroog, a ſtrong and almoſt impenetrable fortreſs, irregularly built on the end of a ridge of hills, ſurrounded by a flat country, one hundred and twenty-eight miles eaſtward of Bednore. Here we were conducted in triumph to a ſtreet leading to the Durbar, where we were ſurrounded by crouds of people, and detained till four o'clock in the afternoon; at which hour all the ſervants, except one to every five officers, were taken away; they then divided us into two parties, and marched us up through ten very ſtrong gateways, to the top of one of the higheſt hills, where we were cloſely confined in two ſeparate houſes; and after having a third time ſearched and plundered us, our hand-cuffs were knocked off, and irons put to our legs.—Late in the evening, having had nothing to eat the whole day, they brought us ſome rice, with wood and water to dreſs it; and next morning we were ordered to deliver up all our knives and papers, but were permitted to keep a few books, which ſome of the officers had brought with them: they then furniſhed us with an hand-mill for the purpoſe of grinding rice, which afterwards became our chief employment. About ten o'clock a Bramin came up, and delivered to each perſon one

ſeer

ſeer of the coarſeſt rice and two pice, with wood ſufficient to cook our victuals, which he told us was to be our daily allowance. Our ſervants were allowed each a pice a-day. We were alſo furniſhed with a bazar pretty well ſupplied with every article except butcher's meat.

On the 8th, the wood which had hitherto been ſerved to us was ſtopped, nor would the enemy ſupply us with more, until we conſented to pay for it, which additional expence deprived us of half our daily allowance. On application being made for medicines for the ſick, we were informed, that the ſtricteſt orders had been iſſued not to ſupply us with any; that we had not been brought there to live, and that the Nawaub would be very happy to hear we were all dead. This cruel treatment operated very forcibly on the feelings of thoſe gentlemen who were at this time in a bad ſtate of health: many of them ſeemed to deſpair of recovery, as they were to look for no aſſiſtance but what Nature might afford. Thus unhappily ſituated, we uſed every means to procure ſome medicines, but all in vain, for the ſentries (the only perſons to whom we could apply) told us, that however much they were inclined to contribute to our relief, it was not in their power.

On the 13th, three women, who were confined with us, were decoyed out by a report of ſome fine ſalt fiſh being in the bazar: on their going out, the doors of our priſon were immediately ſhut, and ſoon after, we were alarmed with horrid ſhrieks and the cries of murder, and could plainly hear the women call upon us for aſſiſtance; but as it was totally out of our power to afford them any, we could only deplore their ſituation in anxious ſuſpence, not knowing what might be their fate: however, an hour had not elapſed before our apprehenſions were agreeably relieved by their ſafe return, when they informed us they had been very roughly handled, and narrowly ſearched, and that a few pagodas, which they had found means to conceal, had been taken from them.

On the 15th, we were deprived of the bazar, nothing being brought for ſale but ſour milk, ſalt, chillies (or red pepper), tamarinds, and tobacco. About midnight, Serjeant Dobbins, of the 102d regiment, who had been ill of a fever ſome days, paid the debt of Nature.

On the 20th, they deprived us of the ſour milk, ſo that we had then nothing to ſubſiſt on but rice alone, without any other liquid. Uncertain how this diet might agree with us, and

ſeveral

ſeveral of the officers being ſick and deſtitute of medicines, our ſituation became wretched, and our proſpects dreadful, from a belief that the worſt was yet to come, and our ſuſpicions were ſtill further increaſed by their taking away a few onions, which one of the gentlemen had reſerved, from the time of our being deprived of the bazar, juſt as they were going to be boiled.

About this time, died Lieutenant William Patterſon, of the 102d regiment. Before his body was cold, our inhuman guards rushed in, and ſeized upon the few remaining things belonging to him, threatening to puniſh with rigour thoſe gentlemen who ſhould attempt to conceal any part of them. We now became exceedingly anxious to learn the ſituation of affairs, and punctually liſtened every night to the converſation of the guard, from whom we hoped to gather ſome intelligence, and were not diſappointed: for we were frequently gratified with the moſt flattering and plauſible accounts of the ſucceſs of our army; which accounts were ſometimes confirmed, and at other times contradicted, by the ſentries, with whom we had frequent opportunities of converſing during the day.

We

We queſtioned them concerning our Europeans and ſepoys, who were confined in the fort, and they told us that the former were treated in the ſame manner as ourſelves; but that the latter, with our ſervants, were only allowed one ſeer of rauggy, which is the worſt grain in the country, and one pice each per day: that they were employed during the day to work as coolies, carrying ſtones, mud, and chunam, (mortar made of ſtone or ſhells) for erecting and repairing the enemy's works, and that in the evening, after they had finiſhed their labour, they were confined in priſon, with irons upon their legs, and their hands tied behind them.

They further informed us, that our ſepoys had been frequently aſked to enter into the enemy's ſervice, and threatened to be hanged in caſe they refuſed to do ſo, being told, at the ſame time, that all the European officers had engaged in the ſervice of the Nawaub; but that our ſepoys diſregarded their threats, and told them, with a firm reſolution, that they would ſooner die, working as coolies, than enter into his ſervice, and that they well knew none of the European officers would ever engage to ſerve under him. This pleaſing news of the fortitude and fidelity of our brave ſepoys, who were labouring under ſuch cruel hardſhips, gave the

the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and conſiderably lightened the burden of our own ſufferings.

On the 3d of July, Dr. Carmichael, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, had his irons knocked off, and was conducted below to viſit Dowlat Bhauee, who was ſuddenly taken ill. The Doctor returned in the evening, and informed us, that after preſcribing for the Jemmidar, he gave him a moſt excellent dinner, and made him an offer of remaining in an houſe below, which he declined. Dowlat Bhauee alſo promiſed the Doctor that he ſhould not again be put in irons, and faithfully kept his promiſe.

On the 11th of this month, died Lieutenant Auchinlech of the Company's troops. He had been long ill of a flux, and though frequent applicationss were made to have his irons taken off, our cruel tyrants would not conſent to it; but, an hour before his death, they brought a black-ſmith, and though we ſtrongly ſolicited them not to diſturb him in his laſt moments, they poſitively inſiſted on knocking off his irons, which they effected with great pain to the poor dying man.

On the 27th of Auguſt, our daily allowance was augmented to three pice each; and we were

informed that a ceſſation of arms had taken place between the Eaſt-India Company and Tippoo Sultaun Nawaub Bahauder; that a treaty of peace was actually on foot, and that the Burrah Myar would be ſent by the Jemmidar to acquaint us with it. We waited impatiently for a confirmation of this joyful news, until five o'clock in the evening, when the Myar made his appearance, acquainted us, in a very formal manner, that peace was nearly concluded between the powers at war, that in the mean time we ſhould have a bazar, and requeſted to know all our wants. We were deluded into a firm belief of this intelligence, for five days; but, on the firſt of September, were undeceived, by the bazar being again taken away, and the additional pice ſtruck off. Upon making enquiry into the cauſe of this ſudden change, we were told, that the Burrah Myar would ſatisfy us on that head; but as he did not, at that time, pay us another viſit, we concluded it was only a pretext calculated to ſerve ſome particular purpoſe.

On the 5th of October, our daily ſubſiſtence was again augmented to three pice, and the following day a bazar was ſent to us, in which was ghee, (a very rancid ſort of butter made from the milk of buffaloes) dholl, (a kind of

peas

peaſe which grow in ſmall narrow pods on a ſhrub) ſugar, wheat-flour, maſſaullaw, (ſundry ſorts of ſpice) tobacco, limes, and vegetables.

On the 20th, the Burrah Myar a ſecond time made his appearance, and we were in great expectation of receiving ſome agreeable intelligence: but his errand was only to enquire, whether any of us underſtood the method of making muſket-flints, paper, or black-lead pencils, offering great rewards to any perſon who would inſtruct him in thoſe arts.

On the 5th of November, we had the misfortune to loſe Dr. Carmichael, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, who had been ill for a conſiderable length of time, and whoſe death was much lamented by every gentleman in the priſon.

On the 4th of December, our ſervants, as they went to draw water, for the firſt time, had the opportunity of ſpeaking to thoſe ſervants attending upon the gentlemen in the other priſon, from whom we had the ſatisfaction to hear that they all enjoyed good health, and had only loſt, during their confinement, Mr. Browne, Quartermaſter of the 100th regiment, Enſign Bateman, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, and a private ſoldier of the 98th regiment. At different periods

we experienced various kinds of treatment, ſometimes meeting with leſs ſeverity than at others: we had an inſtance of their lenity on Chriſtmas-day, when the bazar-man was directed to bring for ſale abundance of fruit, ſweetmeats, and vegetables, together with ſome ſheep, two of which were purchaſed by ſome of the gentlemen who had ſaved money out of their daily allowance for that purpoſe.

On the 3d of January, 1784, died, much regretted, Lieutenant Drew, of the Bombay Eſtabliſhment, after a painful lingering illneſs. Having the curioſity to enquire how they diſpoſed of the bodies of the deceaſed, we were aſſured, by different people, that they were thrown over a precipice into a moraſs, where they were devoured by tygers and vultures.

On the 10th, butcher's meat was allowed to be brought into the bazar, and ſold in ſmall quantities, in common with other articles. Our treatment was now much better than heretofore; we wanted for nothing that we could, with our ſmall allowance, afford to purchaſe; and as many as choſe were permitted to go to the outer yard, from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet. From this great alteration in the behaviour of the enemy, as well as from their repeated aſſurances that

peace

peace was concluding, we were led to believe that the happy day would ſoon arrive when we ſhould be freed from our ſhackles, and once more enjoy the liberty of Britons.

On the 10th of February, died Lieutenant Hugh Moore, of the 98th regiment, who, ſome days before his death, had been indulged with a room to himſelf, in an houſe in the outer yard; which after his deceaſe we were permitted to occupy, during the day. We were now poſitively aſſured that peace was concluded, and that all the priſoners would be releaſed in a few days, which happy period we anxiouſly waited for; but having been ſo often deceived, we much ſuſpected the truth of this intelligence, notwithſtanding the indulgent behaviour of the enemy.

On the 23d of March, however, all our doubts were cleared up, for early in the morning, the Wordy Wollah came with ſeveral black-ſmiths, and informed us he had received orders from Dowlat Bhauee to knock off our irons, and to acquaint us that peace was concluded, and that we were to be releaſed in a day or two. The emotions we felt on receiving this joyful and moſt welcome news, joined to the pleaſing ſenſation of having our legs at liberty, no pen can deſcribe; for a while, nothing but congratula-

tions and rejoicings were heard re-echoing from every part of the priſon.

After we were freed from our fetters, we remained two days to get the proper uſe of our limbs, and on the 25th, in the morning, we bad adieu to our jail, and were conducted to an open ſpace of ground juſt without the priſon; where we had not been long before we diſcovered, at a diſtance, our brother officers, who had been ſeparated from us on our arrival at Chittledroog; and ſuch was our eagerneſs to meet, that the fixed bayonet of the guard could not prevent our running ſeveral yards to embrace each other. This was a period of bliſs, of which the firſt monarch in the world might juſtly have envied us; we were ſo drowned in joy, that for a while we forgot that we were ſtill in the hands of the enemy, but were ſoon recovered from our trance, by receiving orders to proceed below, which we gladly obeyed, and about ten o'clock, arrived at the kutchery, (a building erected for holding courts of judicature, and tranſacting all public buſineſs in general) where we had the inexpreſſible pleaſure of meeting with Meſſrs. Gordon and Brunton, two Lieutenants of the Madras Eſtabliſhment, who had been taken priſoners ſome years before, with Colonel Baillie, and of ſeeing many other of our fellow-ſufferers, both

both Europeans and ſepoys, though we were not permitted to converſe much with the latter. Our ſervants, who had been taken from us on our arrival at Chittledroog, were delivered over to us, from whom guſhed tears of joy at the ſight of their maſters. They informed us, that ſeveral of our ſlave-boys had been taken out of priſon and carried away: we now therefore demanded them to be given up to us, but could obtain no other redreſs or anſwer, than that "they were all dead."

Soon after our arrival here, we had the mortification to ſee ſeveral baſkets of hand-cuffs placed before us, for the purpoſe of again linking us two and two: but on making a forcible repreſentation to Dowlat Bhauee, and on ſigning a paper, wherein we gave our paroles of honour, for our own good behaviour, and bound ourſelves anſwerable for that of the troops, he relinquiſhed his intention of making us ſuffer that horrid, and ignominious puniſhment.—We were not ſo ſucceſsful in our ſtrenuous application in behalf of our brave, faithful ſoldiers; for they, poor fellows, were obliged to endure that cruel indignity.

As moſt of the officers and men were nearly naked, and all of us in want of ſhoes, we

made an application for a ſum of money to be advanced to us, on the Honourable Company's account, and were informed by Dowlat Bhauee, that a Buckſhy (Paymaſter) would be ſent with us, who would ſupply us with every thing we could have occaſion for. Having been detained in the kutchery till four o'clock in the afternoon, we were then all conducted to the burying ground, about one mile and an half diſtant from the fort. As ſoon as we halted, we all aſſembled together, and on relating to each other our ſufferings, we found that the officers who had been ſeparated from us, were uſed in every reſpect in the ſame manner as ourſelves.

On the 26th, having received no allowance of rice or pice for the preceding day, we aſked for ſome victuals, and ſome hours after, a ſeer of rice and one pice was delivered to each perſon. We were amazed and did not know how to account for the reduction of our pittance; for, as peace was concluded, we naturally imagined our allowance would rather have been augmented than reduced: but, on making an enquiry into the cauſe, we were told, that the Commiſſioners from Madras, employed in negotiating the treaty, had not ſtipulated for any kind of proviſions for us, and that the Nawaub had

had ſent orders to furniſh us with juſt as much as was barely ſufficient to ſupport life.

In the evening we received intelligence from a ſepoy, who had formerly been in the Engliſh ſervice, that Dowlat Bhauee had detained ſifteen of our drummers and ſlave-boys, and confined them in an houſe cloſe to that where he lived; alſo, that the Jemmidar had kept back ten European ſoldiers, and twenty-three ſepoys, whom he ſeparately confined in different parts of the fort, and had given out that they were dead.

This day and the 27th, ſeveral parties of our European ſoldiers and ſepoys, from various parts of the country, joined us; and, as ſoon as they could get an opportunity, many of them ſhewed their gratitude and generoſity, by ſending ſeveral of us a little money, which they had contrived to ſave when they were firſt taken. As ſeveral officers obtained permiſſion to viſit their men, we learned that the Europeans had been better uſed than we were, except at one place, where, having only a ſeer of rauggy, and one pice to ſubſiſt on, they gave part of that allowance for pieces of dried ſheep-ſkins, which being the only ſort of animal food they could procure, they were afflicted with the flux to ſuch

a degree, that out of two hundred and thirty, only one hundred and thirteen ſurvived; and the enemy were ſo rigid, as not even to allow them to waſh their hands and faces, or comb their hair, for the ſpace of four months. Our ſepoys were equally oppreſſed in every priſon, all of them having been employed as coolies, carrying mud, ſtones, and chunam, the whole time of their confinement, without any other allowance than one ſeer of rauggy and one pice to each; beſides which, they were daily puniſhed with ſtripes, and threatened to be hanged for refuſing to enter into the Nawaub's ſervice; and in conſequence of this cruel treatment, great numbers of them died. One circumſtance, with which we were made acquainted by ſome of the European ſoldiers, ſo much redounds to the honour of the ſepoys, that it ought not to paſs unnoticed.—In ſome of the priſons where the Europeans and ſepoys were confined together, the latter ſaved money out of their daily allowance, and purchaſed meat for the former, at the ſame time telling them, they well knew the cuſtoms of Europeans, and that they could not ſubſiſt without it. When on their march, alſo, they would not ſuffer the Europeans to carry their knapſacks, but the ſepoys took them and carried them themſelves, telling the Europeans that they were

were better able to bear the heat of the ſun than they were, the climate being natural to them.

On the 28th, doolies having been provided for the ſick, we began our march, guarded by an eſcort of ſixty cavalry, and five hundred infantry, under the command of Meer Buckſhy, for Ooſcottah, where, as Dowlat Bhauce informed us, all the priſoners were to be collected, and where we ſhould meet ſome of our own gentlemen ſent from Madras, provided with money, and every other article requiſite for our reception.

During the march, and after we halted, the guards were very particular in keeping the ſeveral parties ſeparate: but the Buckſhy was ſo good as to allow many of the Europeans to take off their irons.

Nothing further material happened 'till our arrival at Seerahungy, on the 8th of April, when the Buckſhy informed us, that he expected a gentleman high in the Company's civil ſervice at Madras, would overtake us that night, as he had heard he was very near; and the next morning, before the rear had marched off the ground, the gentleman alluded to, and Lutf'ga Foulblong, of the ſame Eſtabliſhment, overtook

us. The appearance of theſe gentlemen gave us inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, for nothing could be more agreeable to us, at this time, than meeting with ſome of our own countrymen. Thoſe gentlemen who were in the rear were very cordially received by Mr Fomblong; but the other Engliſh gentleman's conduct was not ſo pleaſing; for, though he had it much in his power to have aſſiſted us, if he had choſen it, when he was requeſted by one of the officers to uſe his endeavours with the Buckſhy, to have all the men taken out of irons, he replied, "*the* "*ſituation the troops were then in was the beſt* "*and ſecureſt way of marching them.*"

Another officer repreſented to this gentleman the many diſtreſſes of the officers and men, and particularly mentioned their being bare-footed; as alſo the neceſſity we were reduced to of purchaſing the mere neceſſaries of life from the bazar man, at ſuch an exorbitant intereſt. In anſwer to which, this gentleman told him, he could give us no aſſiſtance; and he aſked him, how he intended to diſcharge the bazar debt? Then immediately turning to another officer, with the cooleſt indifference, he aſked him what corps he belonged to. The officer who addreſſed this gentleman in behalf of himſelf and fellow-ſufferers, was ſo ſhocked at thoſe words, and

his

his behaviour, that he could make him no anſwer, but took his leave in ſilent aſtoniſhment.

On the 12th, having loſt, by death, only two Europeans, we arrived at Ooſcottah, where we found Lieutenant Dallas, of the Madras cavalry, who had been appointed by the Commiſſioners to receive the priſoners. Mr. Dallas's behaviour was widely different from that of the gentleman whoſe conduct I have been relating. The contraſt was a very pleaſing one, for Mr. Dallas came to us in the evening, accompanied by Lieutenant M'Alliſter, and Cornet Lennard, of the Madras cavalry, and with the moſt friendly good nature, offered every aſſiſtance he was able to afford us.

On the 13th, another party of priſoners arrived, whom the Commiſſioners had collected on their march from Mangalore, when a ſecond happy meeting enſued, and in the evening we all joined Lieutenant Dallas, and were delivered over in charge to Beem Row, a Bramin appointed by the Nawaub to conduct the Britiſh priſoners from Ooſcottah to the Carnatic. We now enjoyed a greater ſcope of liberty, than we had ever done ſince we were captured, being allowed to range over the whole camp; and Beem Row

was

was ſo good as to take all the troops out of irons, though he had orders to the contrary: we alſo lived in perfect luxury, compared to our late mode of exiſting; for Mr. Dallas furniſhed us with tents, and daily ſupplied us with meat and liquors, and uſed all his exertions to give general ſatisfaction.

This day arrived, from Bangalore, Mr. Sadlier, and Colonel Braithwaite, of the Madras Eſtabliſhment, which latter gentleman obtained permiſſion from the Nawaub to proceed to Madras, with Mr. Sadlier, before the other priſoners: they accordingly ſet out for the Carnatic the next morning, leaving a large quantity of the Company's liquors, and two thouſand pagodas, which ſum was afterwards diſtributed, reſerving a part for the other priſoners, who were hourly expected: each of the officers received two pagodas, each of the ſailors one pagoda and an half, and each ſoldier one pagoda. The ſepoys did not receive any until ſome days after, when they each ſhared one rupee and an half. Each of the officers alſo received a hat, a pair of ſhoes, four pair of ſtockings, and a ſufficient quantity of broad cloth for one coat; theſe articles having been ſent up by the Government of Madras.

April 17. Lieutenant Dallas, who had been appointed by the Commiſſioners for peace to receive

receive the priſoners, with a detachment of the Madras cavalry, and two companies of ſepoys, diſmounting his horſemen, and ſupplying as many officers as he could with horſes, the whole of the priſoners, eſcorted by a ſmall guard of the Sultan's, began their march towards Vellore, at which place we all of us arrived on the 25th of April, 1784. Beem Row, a Bramin, whom Tippoo Sultan had appointed to conduct the priſoners from Ooſcottah to the confines of the Carnatic, received from Mr. Dallas a receipt for all the priſoners whom the Sultan had delivered up. On this we were reſtored to liberty, the value of which we had been taught to eſtimate by a long and painful confinement.

But two hundred Britiſh priſoners were ſtill detained in the country of the tyrant. Of theſe, however, we have now the ſatisfaction to add, that many have made their eſcapes in the years 1785, and 1786, by taking advantage of the vicinity of the Nizam's and Mahrattas' armies; with whom Tippoo Saib ſoon made war, after he had made peace with the Engliſh. The Europeans, with great numbers of Tippoo's native troops, deſerted to different parties of the Mahrattas; from whom they found occaſions of flying to ſome of our frontier poſts and garriſons.

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The fates of the Captains Rutlidge and Speedman, jun. of the artillery, two of the young men who were forcibly circumciſed, as already mentioned, and compelled to enter into the ſervice of the enemy, are ſingular. The firſt, a very ſpirited and intelligent youth, was, by the lateſt accounts, in the command of a roſſalla, or battalion, and in high favour. The other, who was alſo a very promiſing young man, on receiving ſome diſgraceful uſage, reſcued himſelf, by a voluntary ſurrender of life, from his unfortunate ſituation, and from all human calamities.

We look back, now, to the days of our captivity, with a kind of melancholy ſatisfaction, compoſed of a thouſand mixed emotions not to be deſcribed. Theſe are always deeply tinctured with gratitude to the exertions of government at home, and their principal ſervants, both military and civil, in India; but, above all, to the Governor General of Bengal, to whoſe magnanimous exertions we were principally indebted for our reſtoration to liberty, and preſervation from death; and the reports of whoſe tranſcendent talents and virtues, glorioufly diſplayed under accumulated difficulties, now and then diffuſed a gleam of hope thro' the horrors of hard confinement. And here I ſhall take the liberty of giving vent to the emotions of ſurprize, grief, and indignation, which ſwelled in our breaſts on our return to Europe, at the unworthy return for all his

diſintereſted ſervices.—To arraign the Governor-General for actions that paſſed *previouſly* to the moſt marked inſtances of the countenance and ſupport of government, appeared to be unmanly, unfair and inſidious. The continuance of Mr. Haſtings in office, after a knowledge of all the meaſures of his adminiſtration, ſeemed to be a tacit acknowledgement of his propriety.—Our curioſity was now ſtrongly excited to enquire into the progreſs and termination of the war.

While Colonel Baillie ſtruggled with the difficulties already deſcribed, the Britiſh Commander in Chief, who heard the firing of guns, and continued reports of the march of Hyder, became anxious for the ſafety of our detachment, and immediately conceived the deſign of moving, with the main army, to his relief. An officer was ſent into the pagoda, at Conjeveram, to take the charge of the ſtores until he ſhould return, and verbal orders were given for marching in the evening. But the General liſtening, it is ſaid, to the various and contradictory opinions of certain officious perſons around him, loſt the critical moment of action. The hour of marching was delayed 'till ten o'clock, and then put off 'till twelve. But the cannonade having by this time ceaſed, the troops were ordered to reſt on their arms 'till further orders. Broad daylight diſcovered that Hyder had certainly moved

ed; and, at the ſame time, the cannonade was renewed with redoubled fury. The General immediately put the army in motion towards Perambaukum, the ſcene of action; but unfortunately he was miſguided, conſiderably to the right, in his route. By the time he was within two miles of the field of battle, which was almoſt noon, the firing ceaſed at once. Some wounded ſepoys, brought in by our flanking parties, reported the fate of our unfortunate little army. The General, on this intelligence, immediately reverſing the line of his march, returned on his ſteps towards Conjeveram. He had no ſooner reached this place, than he gave orders for deſtroying four of his heavy cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition, as there was not any conveniency for carrying them off.

Sept. 1780. At two o'clock on the 11th, in the morning, our army marched, without beat of drum, towards Chingliput; where they grounded their arms on the glacis, about break of day, on Tueſday the 12th. The greateſt part of the baggage, and many of the ſick and wounded, were left at Conjeveram, where they fell into the hands of the enemy. A general panic pervaded the army, inſomuch, it is ſaid, that it was ſuggeſted to the General, by a certain

tain officer, whoſe name it is unneceſſary to reveal, to diſband the ſepoys, and to take ſhelter with the Europeans in the Dutch ſettlement at Sadras.

In theſe circumſtances, the ſpirits of our men were revived by the fortunate arrival of the other detachment, which had been aſſembled at Trichinopoly, under Colonel Cosby. The Colonel, on the morning of the 10th of September, reached Vandewaſh, where he heard, at the diſtance of near forty miles, the cannonade of Baillie's and Hyder's army, but could not form any judgment of what it was. He left his tents ſtanding, as a blind to the enemy, marched all night, and, on the morning of the 11th, arrived in ſight of the pagodas of Conjeveram. The detachment being now greatly fatigued, and the Colonel unable to procure any intelligence concerning the ſituation of ours or Hyder's army, on account of the enemies flying parties of horſe, he halted for ſome hours, and marched again in the evening. He was proceeding on his march towards Conjeveram, with equal rapidity and circumſpection, when he was informed by one of our ſepoys, who had eſcaped from a body of the enemy that had juſt then made their appearance, of the defeat of Colonel Baillie, and the retreat of the main army to Chingliput. The Colonel,

in his preſent critical ſituation, reſolved immediately to preſs forward to that place, which, though the ſepoy's information ſhould prove falſe, was ſtill within a forced march of Conjeveram; and which, if the information ſhould prove true, was the only place of ſafety for the detachment. This ſmall body preſerving a ſteady countenance, and marching ſlowly in the moſt exact order, the infantry ſix deep, covered in front and rear by the two regiments of cavalry, deterred the enemy, who harraſſed them on every ſide, from any cloſe attempt, and entirely ſaved the baggage. As our troops approached to Chingliput the force of the enemy continued to increaſe, by the junction of the cavalry which had followed Munro thither the day before. The rear of the detachment, was, at times, very hard preſſed. The enemy made a ſhew of throwing themſelves between them and the river of Chingliput: but a quick fire from the field pieces obliged them to deſiſt from their attempt.

The joy which the main army felt on the junction of Colonel Coſby's detachment, was heightened by ſurprize; for he had marched upwards of two hundred miles in a very ſhort ſpace of time; though the whole of the country through which he came from Trichinopoly, was over-run by the enemy. It is of ſome importance

portance to obſerve, that between Tiagar and Tricalore, our troops were fired upon, through jungles, by the inhabitants of the country, who were under the influence of the friends and emiſſaries of Hyder.

Sept. 13, 1780. On Wedneſday, at ſix o'clock in the evening, our troops began to march from Chinglipute, and after being annoyed part of the way by the enemy's horſe, arrived about one o'clock in the morning, on Thurſday the 14th, at the Mount. They were, ſoon after, cantoned in the houſes on Choultry plain, for the approaching monſoon. Five companies of of ſepoys, with four guns, kept poſſeſſion of the Great, and two companies, with two guns, of the Little Mount. Theſe poſts were ſtrengthened by temporary works for the ſecurity of the cattle of the army againſt the enemies irregular horſe, and ſignals were eſtabliſhed for the protection of the cantonments.

The retreat of our army, to Fort St. George, filled the whole inhabitants at once with ſorrow for their wounded or ſlaughtered friends, and anxiety for their own ſafety. The more timid were eager to find opportunities of returning with as much of their ſubſtance as poſſible to Europe, while thoſe of greater courage, caſt

their eyes to Bengal, looking with ſolicitude for ſuccour from that rich and extenſive province. The Preſidency of Madras made a formal requiſition to the Supreme Council of a reinforcement ſuitable to the exigency of their affairs. That ſuccours, to a certain amount, ſhould be ſent to Madras, was readily agreed to by the whole Council; but concerning that amount, as well as the time of ſending the ſuccours, there were different opinions. Mr. Francis, impreſſed with the unexampled diſaſter which had befallen our arms in the Carnatic, was alarmed for the ſafety of Bengal itſelf, the center and ſeat of the Britiſh government in Aſia. The main exertions of government, if guided by the counſels of that gentleman, would have been confined to Bengal, which would have become the ſeat of war; and the other poſſeſſions of the Company, in India, would have been left almoſt wholly to their own reſources. The Governor-General, and other Members of the Supreme Council, kept a ſteady eye on every part of our eaſtern empire, and carried, with a liberal hand, relief to the diſtreſſed. Nor was their ſyſtem merely defenſive. They reſolved to attack our combined foes in every quarter: in the Eaſt, in the Weſt, in the North; on the coaſt of Coromandel, on that of Malabar, and in the province of Malva. It was determined to ſend a ſupply of men and treaſure to Madras; to make

peace with the Mahrattas on reaſonable terms, or, if this ſhould be rejected, to proſecute the war againſt them with vigour; and to make a diverſion in favour of our operations in the Carnatic, by an attack on Hyder on the coaſt of Malabar.

In conſequence of theſe wiſe and ſpirited counſels, Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief in India, landed at Madras, from Calcutta, on the 5th of November, to take the command of the army. He brought with him three hundred Europeans in battallion, upwards of two hundred European artillery, and ſome pieces of cannon, and 500 laſcars, with fifteen lacks of rupees, and a large ſupply of proviſions. Six companies of grenadier ſepoys arrived about the ſame time, by ſea, from Maſſulipatam; and the remainder of the ſeventh battalion, augmented to ſix companies, came at their own requeſt from Ongle, under Captain Grant, to revenge the loſs of their friends in the diſaſter of Colonel Baillie.

Four companies of grenadier ſepoys belonging to the battalions in the Vizagapatam diſtrict, were aſſembled at that place to be embarked for Madras. The officers having dined with the Chief, Mr. Caſamajor, came to the parade in the afternoon to march the men to the beach, and were received by a fire of muſquetry, by

which three of them were killed and others wounded. The mutineers then plundered the place, and went off to ſome of the petty Rajahs of the country.—General Stuart, of whoſe military ſervices the public had been deprived from 1777, when he was ſuperſeded in the chief command of the army on the coaſt of Coromandel, had left the Preſidency not many weeks before Hyder's invaſion of the Carnatic, and was gone, for the improvement of his local knowledge of India, to Maſſulipatam, and the Company's northern provinces. But Sir Eyre Coote, anxiouſly concerned for the public ſafety, ſoon after his arrival at Madras, obtained a Court Martial, which honourably acquitted and reſtored the General to the military ſervice of his country: an act of juſtice that had been long and repeatedly refuſed to him.

A detachment, conſiſting of ten battalions of ſepoys, and twenty pieces of cannon, was under orders to march to the Carnatic from Bengal; and as many troops were to be ſent to Madras, by ſea, as could be ſpared by General Goddard, who commanded the forces employed in hoſtilities againſt the Mahrattas.

October 31, 1780. While theſe preparations were going forward on our part, Hyder-Ally, having

having reduced Arcot, and other inferior poſts, which, through the treachery of the Commandants not leſs than the terror of his arms, fell into his hands without reſiſtance, ſent detachments againſt Gingee, Vellore, Amboor, Vandewaſh, Parmacoil, and Carangooly, which, with Chingliput, Cuddalore, and Tiagar, were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. Carangooly, which was in a ruinous ſtate, was defended only by a havaldar's guard, which abandoned it on the approach of the enemy.

December, 1780. A large body of the enemy ſurpriſed Gingee in which there was only one company of our ſepoys, and theſe reduced to half their numbers by ſickneſs. The Nabob had ſeven or eight companies of ſepoys in this place, but they made not the leaſt reſiſtance, when a party of Hyder's men eſcaladed the lower fort: and, as they aſcended the rock to one of the upper forts, they ſeized enſign Macaulay, one of the Company's officers, and delivered him, with the place, into the hands of the enemy.

Hyder, having exhauſted all that could miniſter fuel either to fury or to rapine in this country, determined to lead his victorious army to the regions ſouthward of the Coleroon. Theſe alſo had by this time experienced the ravages of

predatory war, and every where bore marks of deſolation. Multitudes of needy adventurers, allured to his ſtandard by the hope of plunder, pouring down from the mountains of Myſore, over-run the countries of Kevalore, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Madura. A luxuriant crop was inſtantly ſwept off the ground and every water-dyke and embankment totally deſtroyed; the inhabitants who eſcaped the ſword ſought ſhelter in the forts, where, through want, they miſerably periſhed. The country of Tanjore was in the poſſeſſion of the invaders, who ſecured its crops and cattle, repulſed the Company's troops at different places, and confined them within a ſingle fortreſs in the capital, where the granaries were empty, the Rajah's ſubjects ripe for revolt, and he himſelf accuſed of clandeſtinely introducing arms into his palace, and carrying on intrigues with Hyder. While he ſecretly endeavoured to convert his palace into an arſenal, he ſuffered the whole crops of the country to be collected by the enemy; at the ſame time that he reſiſted every ſolicitation to fill his magazines, and to provide for events neither evitable nor diſtant.

In the Britiſh provinces to the ſouthward of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, affairs wore an aſpect equally alarming. The great Marawa was infeſted by a numerous body of rebels under the

the conduct of a Chief nearly related to a family on the throne: the little Marawa, by the murderer of the late Rajah, who, after the perpetration of that crime, had fled, in 1773, for protection to Hyder, but, returning at the preſent criſis, ſeized the reins of government by the authority of that prince, kept the infant Rajah in confinement, and carried the deſolation of war into the adjacent territories of the Company, held under the name of the Nabob of Arcot. The flames of diſaffection and war were ſpread in their progreſs to Cape Comorin. Many thouſands of Colleries and Polygars haraſſed the ſouthern provinces; and the ſubjects of Great-Britain were often attacked within the range of their forts.

The reſpectable veteran at the head of the troops oppoſed to ſo formidable an invaſion was in the ſixty-third year of his age. Though his conſtitution had ſuffered the debilitation of an enervating climate, he chearfully underwent, at this advanced period of life, as much fatigue as any ſoldier, and as readily encountered danger as any officer in his army. He was an handſome man, with a ſerious military air. He united ſpirit with caution, and the general courſe of his military conduct had been fortunate. There was in his character and example ſomething that en-

gaged the affections of men, at the ſame time that it commanded their confidence and eſteem: objects which he knew how to value, and ſtudied on all occaſions to acquire. It was on this principle that, although he poſſeſſed the ſole command of the army, he communicated his plan of operations, before he took the field, to a council of war compoſed of Brigadier General Stuart, Sir Hector Munro, and Lord Macleod, and alſo to the Select Committee of Madras.

The General, informed of the fall of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, felt the neceſſity of moving into the field, were it only to diſplay in the face of the ſurrounding powers, the ſpirit and force of his troops, by daring Hyder to battle: for, a report had gone forth throughout India, that the reach of the guns of Fort St. George, limited the Britiſh army with their utmoſt exertions. It was on the ſame principle that the General, a few days after his arrival, ſent a detachment under the command of Colonel Coſby, to diſlodge a corps of the enemy commanded by one of Hyder's Generals, named Laulah, that had taken poſt near Pulicat, about thirty miles to the northward of Madras; and which entirely cut off the ſupplies that had, before that time, been drawn from that quarter. The enemy were completely routed, and left behind them much of their baggage, and a quantity

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of arms and proviſions. Sir Eyre Coote, accordingly, leaving the care of Fort St. George, the Black Town of Madras, St. Thomé, the Mount, and parts adjacent, to General Stuart,* took the field on the 17th of Jan. 1781, at the head of the firſt body of men that had ever borne arms in India. It conſiſted in eight thouſand infantry, eight hundred cavalry, ſixty-two pieces of cannon, with a ſuitable proportion of gunners, and a due proviſion of military ſtores. The confidence which the troops repoſed in their Commander was expreſſed by a loud huzza. On the 19th, the army paſſed Chingliput, and encamped on the ſouth ſide of the Pular. On the 21ſt, a detachment under the command of Captain Davies, carried Carangooly by ſurpriſe, with the loſs of 170 men on our part, but on that of the enemy of double that number. The enemy halted here on the 22d, and were joined by 150 of Hyder's horſe. On the 23d, leaving a garriſon at Carangooly, they reſumed their march ſouth-

* There could not, at that time, be ſpared from the army, for the protection of the Preſidency, &c. more than two hundred Europeans, fifty artillery-men, and four hundred ſepoys, fit for duty. In this ſituation it became neceſſary to cover the Black Town immediately, by out poſts and flanks, raiſed in mud-work, ſuch as to give the appearance, at leaſt, of more ſtrength. After the army left the neighbourhood of Madras, General Stuart judged it proper to pitch his tent, and fix his head-quarters near the walls of the Black Town of Madras.

ſouthward, and carried relief to the long-inveſted garriſon of Vandewaſh; the ſiege of which was raiſed by Hyder on the anniverſary day of the victory which the General had obtained over the French army in their laſt appearance in India, in the field, under the command of the Counts Lally and D'Eſtaign, twenty-one years before, at that very place. This circumſtance neither eſcaped obſervation, nor failed to produce, in the minds of men prone to ſuperſtition, a very fortunate impreſſion. The General's movement at this time had alſo the very important effect of obliging Tippoo Saib, Hyder's eldeſt ſon, on that ſame day, to abandon his attempt on the principal hill fort which commanded Vellore.

The Engliſh army, leaving Vandewaſh, directed the line of their march towards Parnacoil; when, intelligence being received by two expreſſes which arrived at the ſame time, that a French fleet, of ſix ſail of the line, and ſome frigates, under the command of Monſieur D'Orves, had paſſed Madras, they faced about, and returning on their ſteps, encamped along the eminences above Carangooly. The General's firſt thoughts inclined him to return immediately towards Madras, until he received General Stuart's letter, aſſuring him that there was nothing that could interfere with the plan

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of the campaign, or to be apprehended from the French ſquadron, excepting the interruption of the rice ſupplies by ſea, from the Preſidency to the main army: a circumſtance, indeed, which became a ſource of infinite diſquietude to the Commander in Chief; whoſe correſpondence is reported to have been highly intereſting, and expreſſive of the great public and private ſenſibility of his mind, at this criſis.

It was now, alſo, that the Commander in Chief received the unwelcome news of the important and almoſt impregnable fort of Amboor having been taken by Hyder, after a ſlight defence.

Jan. 18, 1781. The General felt this ſtroke the more, that if it had held out but ſix days longer, it would have been, as well as Vandewaſh and Vellore, relieved by the movements of the army. On the 2d of February, our troops marched from the left towards Parmacoil, where they encamped on the 3d; and on the 5th, they ſat down on the Red Hills, with their front towards Pondicherry, which had been taken from the French in 1778, by a detachment of the Company's troops under the command of Sir Hector Munro. Here the General intended to make a halt, both for the relaxation of the troops, and learning the intentions and movements of the enemy. On the

6th

6th of February, Hyder was obſerved nearly within cannon ſhot of the rear of our encampment, ſecured by a large tank, paſſing, with his eye fixed, as was ſuppoſed, on Cuddalore, at the head of his army. The drums inſtantly beat to arms. At four in the afternoon the Engliſh army began to move, filing off, by the left, into the lower road, towards Cuddalore, where they arrived, after a very fatiguing march, on the 8th at ſix in the morning. They were greatly annoyed the whole night, and loſt ſome ſtores and baggage. The enemy kept what is called the Porto Novo road: ſo that the marches of both armies were parallel. On the 9th, our army encamped with its right to the ruins of Fort St. David, and its left to Cuddalore: a poſition which ſhewed their apprehenſions of the farther deſigns of the enemy. This is the firſt inſtance of an Engliſh army being placed in ſuch a ſituation with regard to any of the native powers of India: an army too, the beſt appointed that had ever taken the field in the country.

The Engliſh army, on the 10th, leaving their tents ſtanding, moved out from the cover of the guns of Cuddalore, and was formed in order of battle. A river ran along their front, and covered their right flank. Their left extended towards a range of ſtrong ground where cavalry could not act, and the bound hedge of Cuddalore,

lore, with three redoubts, ſecured their rear. In this ſituation, without tents, and the comforts which theſe afford, our troops, for three complete days, offered the enemy battle. Sir Eyre Coote, finding that Hyder declined an engagement, returned to his camp, with a great increaſe in the number of his ſick. It was no wonder that the General was thus eager for battle. He was reduced to a few days proviſions, and delay to engage might be equal to defeat in an engagement.

The ſudden and unexpected departure of M. D'Orves, the French Admiral, from the coaſt of Coromandel, brightened up the gloom that hung over the minds of our General Officers, although they were careful to conceal their anxiety from the troops under their command, by opening a channel for the reception of thoſe ſupplies which the unremitting vigilance and foreſight of the Supreme Council of Bengal always afforded. Sir Edward Hughes, after aſſiſting in the reduction of the French fort of Mahé, and making great havock in Hyder's fleet in his own ports of Callicut and Mangalore, returned with the garriſon from Tellicherry, conſiſting of one company of Europeans, twenty European artillery, and one battalion with four grenadier companies of ſepoys, to the coaſt of Coromandel. The garriſon of Tellicherry was relieved by troops from

from Bombay. The certain information received by the French Admiral concerning the deſtination of the Engliſh fleet determined him to ſet ſail, on the 15th of February, for the iſland of Mauritius. But had this Commander left only two frigates to block up the road of Cuddalore, conſequences might have happened, as fatal to the intereſts of Great Britain in the Eaſt, as followed in North America from the convention of Saratoga.

There is not any reaſon either of entertainment or inſtruction to detail all the particulars which fill the ſpace between the departure of the French fleet, and the junction of the troops from Tellicherry with the main army. It may be obſerved, however, in general, that during this time Hyder was not idle. He ſent a detachment under Mr. Lally to levy contributions on the Danes at Tranquebar, and the Dutch at Negapatnam. The Dutch paid him fifty thouſand pagodas, and the Danes twenty thouſand. He plundered the country of Tanjore, cut off ſome of our flying parties, reduced the important fortreſs of Tiagar after a ſiege of two months, collected his army at Samjaveram, and a train of artillery upon the iſland of Seringham, with a view to lay ſiege to Trichinopoly. Tippoo Saib, after throwing a garriſon into Tiagar, marched to Vandewaſh, and once more inveſted that

that fortreſs. In the month of May, 1781, Lord Macleod returned to the Preſidency on account of bad health, and General Stuart joined the troops under Sir Eyre Coote.

The Engliſh army, on the 16th of June, now well augmented by the garriſon from Tellicherry, and two battalions of ſepoys under the command of Captain Lamotte, from Nagore, marched to Mootapollam; and, on the 19th, croſſing the river, encamped near Chillumbrum. About ſix in the evening, the Trichinopoly detachment, with a twelve pounder, and a howitzer, in front, while other three battalions followed, advanced to the outer gate of the pagoda, which was ſplendidly illuminated on the occaſion of a feſtival. The enemy kept perfect ſilence till the gun was moved forward near to the gate. They then poured down a heavy fire, which was returned by our men with great ſpirit. The gun advanced, and blew open the gate, though the Serjeant was killed, and the Officer, with ſeveral of the men attached to it, wounded. The laſcars all ran away. By the exertions of the ſepoys the gun was advanced to the ſecond gate. The enemy ſet fire to a large quantity of ſtraw, and to the thatch of ſome houſes between the gates. The heat ariſing from hence was ſo exceſſive, that ſeveral of the ſepoys dropped down dead. The

gun

gun was abandoned. The battalion, not properly ſupported, and in want of ammunition, drew off with the loſs of thirty-eight men killed. Many of the officers, with ſixty ſepoys, were wounded. The army, with a large ſtore of grain found in the pettah, returned to Porto Novo, to prepare materials for reducing Chillumbrum by a regular ſiege.

It is but a ſhort way that the utmoſt human ſagacity can penetrate into the maze of future events. The repulſe at Chillumbrum, which ſeemed pregnant with danger, extricated the Engliſh army from a moſt perilous ſituation, and happily changed the whole face of our affairs in the Carnatic. Even a return to Madras, if it could have been effected without a further loſs of men, would have been followed by effects little leſs diſaſtrous than what accompany or flow from a defeat. It would have diſcovered to the native powers of India, that our want of magazines would always oblige us to keep near the ſea, or to make incurſions into the inland country: circumſtances which might be improved by a prudent adverſary for our diſadvantage and ruin. The repulſe juſt mentioned, which was greatly exaggerated to Hyder, determined him immediately to offer the Engliſh battle. He brought down his army from Seringham to Chillumbrum, with moſt aſtoniſhing rapidity.

After

After rewarding the Kecládar and garriſon, in an aſſembly of his officers, he repreſented the Engliſh army as a ſmall and intimidated body of men, who, for the laſt ſix months, had ſcarcely ventured to advance without the bound hedge of Cuddalore, and who were now farther diſpirited by their late loſs and diſappointment. This army, he aſſured them, which was at length under his power, ſhould not eſcape. He was determined to erect batteries and drive it into the ſea, or to cut it to pieces, as he had done that of Colonel Baillie; either of which events would put him in entire poſſeſſion of the Carnatic. The war being finiſhed, he would amply reward their bravery by an augmentation of their pay, and the command of the conquered country. The Chiefs of Hyder applauded his ſpeech in the higheſt manner, and withdrew. But, the French Commander, Lallé, having obtained permiſſion to give his opinion, entreated Hyder to conſider how formidable the Engliſh were in artillery, how well ſupplied with all military ſtores, and that they were commanded by an officer of the higheſt reputation. The only ſide on which they were weak, was, the means of carrying proviſions. It was this circumſtance alone that had conſtrained them to remain ſo long inactive at Cuddalore. An engagement, of courſe, which muſt be the firſt wiſh of the enemy, ſhould, he thought, be avoided.

But Hyder flushed with success, and hoping to defeat the only force that could endanger either the conquest of the provinces south of the Coleroon, on the one hand, or that of the Decan on the other, determined to try the event of a battle. He gave orders for cutting roads for his guns, and erected three batteries on that road which, he supposed, would be taken in marching out of Porto Novo by the English army. Two more were begun but not completed, at a considerable distance to the left, near the sea.

On the first of July, 1781, General Sir Eyre Coote led out the English army from Porto Novo, formed in two lines: the first under General Sir Hector Munro, consisting of three battalions of Europeans, and six of sepoys, one regiment of cavalry, and the body-guard, with thirty-five field-pieces, and four howitzers; the second, under General Stuart, of four battalions of sepoys, one regiment of cavalry, and fourteen field-pieces. The enemy, against whom this force was directed, according to the highest computation, exceeded an hundred, and according to the lowest, did not fall short of sixty thousand men, variously armed, with a field train of forty-seven pieces of different calibres.

A de-

A detachment, conſiſting of two regiments of cavalry and a battalion of ſepoys, with ſix field-pieces, and a ſmall number of irregulars, was placed between the right of the army and the ſea, for the protection of the baggage. A ſmall veſſel, for its farther ſafety, rode at anchor, with her guns ready, in the ſurf. While our troops, thus diſpoſed, proceeded in order of battle, parties of horſe paraded in every direction, and great quantities of rockets were thrown without intermiſſion, to confound the obſervation, and, if poſſible, to throw the Engliſh army into diſorder, and to impede their movements. Our cattle being weak, the guns were drawn through the heavy ſand by the laſcars and ſepoys. During all this time, a ſpace of four hours, the enemy kept up a conſtant cannonade, quick, but ill directed. Though conſiderably within point-blank diſtance, their ſhot frequently ſtruck the ground twice, ſo that the files had time to open and to let it through. A large body of the enemy's cavalry now appeared, drawn up in great force on an extenſive plain. On this body the Engliſh opened an heavy canonnade, which forced them to retire as our men advanced. Their retreat opened to the General's view a range of redoubts, which commanded the road.—Struck with this unexpected appearance, he ordered the troops to halt, and called a council of his

principal officers. To proceed forward in the direct line of their march, was to ruſh into the very throat of danger: the ſea confined their movements on the left hand; and impracticable ſand-banks on the right.

During the halt of the army, and while a council of war deliberated whether they ſhould advance or retreat, a faquir who lived on the ſpot, came up, and diſcovered a road cut through the ſand hills. This road being examined, was found to be newly made, and calculated for the movement of troops and artillery. Hyder had made it the very night before, for the purpoſe of attacking the right of the Engliſh army, whilſt they ſhould be engaged in ſtorming the batteries in front. This farther diſpoſition was intended by that artful Commander, that, on the confuſion of our men, the main body of his cavalry ſhould ruſh from behind the batteries and complete the rout. The road, deſigned by Hyder Ally for the overthrow of the Engliſh, was deſtined by Providence for their preſervation: for, by this, Sir Eyre Coote marched the troops, their right being covered by a tope and hedge, and having gained a plain, effected their deliverance from apparent ruin.

Hyder,

Hyder, diſappointed in his ſtratagem, evacuated his works, and moved a-breaſt with our army, which, after paſſing through the ſand-banks and quitting the road, turned to the left, and faced the enemy, who, in the poſſeſſion of a ridge of ſand-banks in front, ſeemed to offer a deciſive action.—The General, now, had not certainly any option; but, from ſome cauſe or other, a ſecond heſitation took place. Certain unaſked opinions were given in favour of a retreat, under the abject and ruinous notion of looking for more equal ground. To the honour of General Munro, it is right to mention, that when the enemy's batteries were diſcovered in front of our army, he gave his opinion againſt the madneſs of an attack: but that, in this ſecond ſituation, he urged its abſolute neceſſity. A ſpace of time, which appeared to every individual in our army of great length, was conſumed, under the enemy's fire, who had withdrawn their guns from the batteries to the line, and preſented a new front, before the General determined to come to a cloſe attack: and it was during this interval, chiefly, that we ſuffered the loſs that was ſuſtained in this action.

Meanwhile, the heights in the rear of the firſt line of our army, led on by Sir Eyre Coote, were ſeized by General Stuart, who commanded the

ſecond. This excellent diſpoſition encouraged the Commander in Chief to advance with confidence on the enemy. He marched up, at the head of the firſt line, to the enemy's infantry, conſiſting of thirty battalions, drawn up in a holloway, and behind ſand-hills, where, during the cannonade, they had ſat down, at the diſtance of about fifty yards. They roſe, gave their fire irregularly, and without effect, and ran.

But, previouſly to this attack, Hyder had detached a ſtrong body of diſciplined infantry, with a ſuitable train of artillery, a prodigious number of irregulars and cavalry, to attack the Engliſh poſted on the heights. Lallé and Pimorin, at the head of their European troops, led on Hyder's beſt horſe in ſeparated charges; but they were as often ſwept off by the well-directed fire of our artillery. In the laſt of theſe charges, fell Meer Saib, Hyder's principal General, endeavouring to inſpire his men by his example. A tumbril belonging to the cavalry on the right of our firſt line blew up, but without doing any conſiderable miſchief. The enemy, taking advantage of this accident, made an immediate charge on the quarter where it happened, but being readily received, were repulſed. Another detachment alſo attempted, by penetrating into the interval between our two lines, to attack Sir

Eyre

Eyre Coote in the rear. Thus was each wing ſeparately, and almoſt equally engaged.—The freſh forces with which the enemy were inceſſantly relieved, rendered the battle long and obſtinate. It laſted above ſix hours, in which every individual in the Company's ſervice fought as if the fate of the day had depended on his ſingle efforts. The firſt line, triumphing over every obſtacle, drove the enemy, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, promiſcuouſly before them. The ſecond line, under the command of General Stuart, had by this time, not only repulſed the other diviſion of the army, but driven them from their poſt and defeated every attempt they made to attack the General's rear. It was alſo the maſterly diſpoſition, and ſpirited exertions of the ſecond line, that protected the baggage, diſpoſed, as has been mentioned, cloſe by the ſea, from even the attempts of the enemy.

About two o'clock, the enemy, from their ſuperiority in cavalry, drew off their cannon, in ſpite of all the exertions of the victors. The rout was complete and general.—The tumult and confuſion in the retreat of ſuch a multitude of people tempted an eager purſuit, which, could it have been made, muſt have effected an unexampled carnage among men and cattle. But

our guns were dragged ſlowly through deep and ſandy ſoil; while the numbers and the ſpirit of Hyder's cattle gave a celerity to his motion which ours could not equal. The greateſt loſs ſuſtained by the enemy happened before our ſecond line, where, ignorant of its force and ſtrong poſition, and miſtaking it for a common baggage guard, they made the moſt ſpirited attempt on their part; although it muſt be allowed that their artillery was ſerved with great promptitude and addreſs, during the whole courſe of the action. What loſs of men is ſuſtained in an engagement by an Indian army, cannot be aſcertained with any degree of exactneſs, as it is a religious maxim with all the Hindoos, to carry off as many of their wounded and ſlain as they can. This they think of great importance, being perſuaded, that after the body is burned, neither the evil principle or being, nor the demons of wrath who are ſubſervient to his will, have any power over the emancipated ſpirit: a notion that is in exact conformity to an ancient and very general doctrine, that matter is the grand principle of evil, and that the ſouls of thoſe who have departed from life, hover around, and are attracted to their bodies, as long as they are entire; either the whole corporeal frame, or any of the organized parts or members. The Mahrattas, the Myſoreans, the Polygars, and in general

neral all the Gentoo warriors, have their loins begirt with girdles or belts. The horſemen have a hook which they dart with great dexterity between thoſe belts and the dead bodies of their friends, and therewith carry them off from the field of battle. As nearly as could be conjectured, the number of the ſlain, on the ſide of Hyder, amounted to three thouſand: but what appeared in his ſight a greater loſs, was the mortal wounds of Meer Saib, his favourite General and ſon-in-law, who, at the head of the Mogul and Canary cavalry, made the firſt impreſſion on the Britiſh lines, in the unfortunate action near Conjeveram. The Engliſh General halted near the field of action, from inability to purſue the enemy. Our loſs did not exceed four hundred, nor was there an officer of rank or diſtinction among either killed or wounded.

Although no trophies were gained, or priſoners made, the firſt of July, 1781, will ever be accounted an important day to the eaſtern branch of the Britiſh empire. It broke that ſpell which was formed by the defeat of Colonel Baillie, and deſtroyed that reſpect which the name of Hyder-Ally-Cawn had obtained, from that diſaſtrous to this proſperous event, among ſuperſtitious obſervers, whoſe opinions are formed

by

by the impreſſion of ſtriking events, more than by the deductions of reaſon.

The General, on the 3d of July, returned his thanks to the troops, gave orders for a new [illegible], and diſpatched expreſſes to every quarter with the news of the victory. His Majeſty's 73d regiment, on account of their diſtinguiſhed ſteadineſs in the field, as well as their exemplary deportment in quarters, were preſented by the General with fifty pounds to buy a pair of bagpipes.

While theſe things were tranſacted near Porto Novo, a detachment under Tippoo Saib had inveſted Vandewaſh, and begun to conſtruct batteries, and to make other neceſſary preparations for a ſiege. The General therefore determined to march to the northward, in order to relieve this place, and afterwards to form a junction with the Bengal detachment. Tippoo, on the approach of our army, precipitately raiſed the ſiege of Vandewaſh, and joined the main army under Hyder, in the neighbourhood of Arcot.

Sir Eyre Coote, reinforced by ten battalions of ſepoys and twenty pieces of cannon, ſent from Bengal under the command of Colonel Pearſe, laid ſiege to Tripaſſore, which ſurrendered on the

22d of Auguſt, on terms of capitulation. A very ſeaſonable ſupply of paddy being found in the fort, the troops were provided with ſubſiſtence for ſeveral days, and the General, hearing that Hyder was, in full force, at the diſtance of about ſixteen miles, marched towards him, in order if poſſible to bring him to an engagement: the only meaſure that ſeemed to promiſe enlargement from ſurrounding difficulties. Hyder, on the approach of the Engliſh army, fell back a few miles, to the ground on which he had defeated the detachment under Colonel Baillie, where he took a very ſtrong poſition; and where, under the notion of its being a fortunate ſpot, he determined to try his fortune in a ſecond battle.

Theſe things being faithfully reported to the Britiſh Commander, he marched towards the enemy on the 27th, in the morning, when, about eight o'clock, he diſcovered his army drawn up in order of battle, in full force, to receive him, and in poſſeſſion of many ſtrong and advantageous poſts, rendered ſtill more formidable by the nature of the interjacent country, which was interſected by very deep courſes of water.—Some cannon-ſhot being fired at our advanced guard, the army was immediately ordered to halt, till the baggage could be drawn to a ſtation allotted for it in the rear. This being done, the ſecond line,

line, conſiſting of two brigades, turned to a ſituation of ſome ſtrength on the left. The firſt line, conſiſting of three brigades, filed off to the place where the advanced guard had been fired on, and formed in the face of a fire of ſix or eight pieces of cannon. This brought the front of the firſt line to a right angle with that of the ſecond, or, in military language, it gave the army a double front with a large interval. The general then ordered the firſt line to puſh through a ſpace of ground covered with buſhes and underwood, and to ſtorm the enemy's guns. When they cleared theſe obſtructions, nothing was to be ſeen except a line of horſemen at ſome diſtance: but ſuddenly the ſame guns that had been firing on our front, opened an enfilade on both our flanks.

When Hyder had thus completely entangled the firſt line, and not before, he opened a moſt tremendous cannonade on the ſecond. Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the firſt line, was of his own accord bringing round his front to the left, when he received orders from the General to join the ſecond line, as the left brigade under Colonel Owen were ſcarcely able to maintain their ground. —The diviſion of the army commanded by Monro, after making the circuit that has been deſcribed, found themſelves, now, on the very ſpot where

where Colonel Baillie made his laſt ſtand. The fragments of bodies, the legs, arms and ſkulls, the manœuvres that were made, and the noiſe of cannon, brought the bloody tragedy of Sep[illegible]er, 1780, full in their view, and made an [illegible]reſſion on their imaginations, which was to [illegible]urmounted only by military diſcipline, and a [illegible]e of honour.

The firſt line now cloſing, and preſenting the ſame front with the ſecond, the whole army, in one connected line, was ordered to advance on the enemy's artillery. On this order, Sir Hector Monro ſubmitted to the Commander in Chief, what was murmured throughout the whole line, whether it would not be improper to abandon the ſhelter they derived from a long avenue and other trees, ſince the ground between the two armies was ſuch as could not be paſſed, and that an attempt to move cloſe up with the enemy, in that direction, would only expoſe them to the weight of their cannon, without the poſſibility of their effecting any object that might compenſate ſo great a diſadvantage. The General, in an hurry of ſpirits, which at ſuch a criſis might be well excuſed, and not perhaps attending to what Sir Hector Monro had ſaid, replied to his ſecond in command, " Sir, you talk to me when

" when you ſhould be doing your duty."* In obedience, therefore, to the General's orders, the troops advanced more and more within reach of the enemy's cannon. The men dropped faſt, diſliked their ſituation, and became impatient. One tumbril had blown up at the inſtant when the two lines of the army were cloſing in one: a ſecond blew up now together with ſome limber boxes. Orders for ſome manœuvre were now expected from the General, by the firſt line, with great anxiety, but none arrived. Sir Hector Monro, ſitting by the only tree that was in the plain, in a ſullen mood, refuſed to give any orders whatever. The ſecond line was in the utmoſt confuſion. The battalions, in opening for the purpoſe of giving way to the enemy's ſhot, had fallen into cluſters and become noiſy. Had the enemy charged our men with his numerous cavalry, from the left, at any period of the two hours during which our affairs were in this perilous ſituation, it is not improbable that we would have ſuffered diſcomfiture and defeat: and that the plains of Ticcollum, a ſecond time ſtrewed with the mangled bodies of the Engliſh, would have rivetted the ſuperſtition, and inflamed the

cruelty

* This circumſtance is mentioned here, on account of Sir Hector Monro's having quitted the army, as ſoon as he could, and never again ſerving under Sir Eyre Coote.

cruelty of the barbarian conqueror.—Our cavalry, indeed, might have made good their retreat, as they were at ſome diſtance with the baggage: but the foot ſoldiers would never have been able to eſcape from the field: no! not perhaps even in the character of priſoners.

Happily, the diſorder of our line could not be eaſily perceived by the enemy: and there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that he neither knew of that confuſion, nor formed the plan of his operations, on the ſuppoſition that any confuſion was to happen. His chief deſign, was, to revive the ſpirits of his troops, and to convince the princes of the country, that he could yet engage, and make head againſt the greateſt European army that had ever taken the field in India.

The evening was now far advanced, when Hyder drew off his guns, and all was ſilence. It was thought adviſeable, at the ſame time, that our army ſhould march back to the ſtrong ground from which they had advanced. When the circumſtances that rendered it expedient to retire, were urged in a conference among the principal officers, one of the gentlemen happened unfortunately to make uſe of the word *retreat*. The General ſwore that he had never retreated in his life, but that he would *permit the army to fall back*.

This happy expreſſion was followed by immediate orders for the troops to turn to the right about.

Our loſs, on this day, was heavier than on 1ſt of July, and that of the enemy leſs, which was owing to their having ſheltered themſelves under the cover of tanks and other grounds which they poſſeſſed, favourable for that purpoſe. Of our privates ſix hundred either periſhed in the field or were deſperately wounded. General Stuart loſt his leg by a cannon-ſhot, whilſt bravely conducting the ſecond line to the ſupport of a poſt which the Commander in Chief had occupied at the commencement of the engagement, and on which the enemy had kept up a ſevere fire. The ſame ſhot alſo carried away the leg of Lieut. Col. Brown, and by his death, which ſoon followed, deprived the Eaſt-India Company of a very old and faithful ſervant, and the army, of an able and very experienced officer. Captain Hiſlop, alſo, a very active and ſpirited officer, and one of the General's aid-de-camps, fell in this obſtinate and indeciſive, not to ſay undecided engagement.

The hircarrahs, or ſpies, ſent out by the General to diſcover Hyder's further plans, brought intelligence that the enemy had determined to attack

attack the Engliſh army, ſome hour between midnight and break of day. In conſequence of this, orders were iſſued for the whole line to lie all night under arms, in the front of the encampment. While our army guarded againſt an imaginary attack, the report of which had been induſtriouſly circulated by Hyder, that cautious Commander, who judged it imprudent to leave his unconnected, in the vicinity of our diſciplined army, under the cloud of night, was retreating to a diſtance that might ſecure him againſt a ſurprize.

On the 28th of Auguſt, our dead were buried, and the wounded collected and dreſſed. The next day, our troops being maſters of the field of battle, and Hyder at ſome diſtance, the General ordered the men under arms, when our guns and ſmall arms, announced a victory. The tents and baggage were then packed, and the troops put in motion for Tripaſſore, where they encamped on the 30th. Hyder called this march a retreat, and, claiming a victory, proclaimed one, in all the pomp of war, to the nations of Hindoſtan.

There was not any thing memorable that occurred before the 27th of September, when the Engliſh army, having pitched their camp, the

day before, within four miles of Hyder, who waited for them at the paſs of Chillangur, was put in motion to try the fortune of a new battle. The baggage was thrown into a theatre which the hand of nature had formed. The ſecond brigade, with the two flank companies of the 73d regiment, the cavalry, and a train of twenty-two pieces of cannon, broke from the main body, and moved for ſome high ground to the left of the enemy's line of encampment, not yet ſtruck, while the main army continued to advance, in one line, upon the enemy's front. Hyder, who had aſſured himſelf from experience that Sir Eyre Coote would keep the whole of his troops together, and of courſe, had only guarded againſt a direct movement on his front, kept a ſteady eye on the left of our line and on the baggage.—A change of diſpoſition in an army unwieldy, and without ſubordination, involves an immediate retreat. Such was the army headed by Hyder-Ally. That experienced General, therefore, inſtead of reſiſting the detachment, endeavoured only to alarm them with a ſhew, and a ſlight attack by a body of horſe. He abandoned his deſign upon the left wing of our army and baggage, and, after a ſhort fire from his guns, ordered them to be carried off.

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In doing this, his horſe were brought under our cannon, and ſuffered greatly. In the hurry of retirement, his guns were at one time, huddled together in a miry place, which encouraged our men to advance againſt the enemy with greater rapidity.—Hyder, on perceiving this, inſtantly charged the aſſailants with a body of his beſt cavalry. This force interrupted the progreſs of our line: but after receiving many diſcharges of grape, and in reality ſurmounting their dangers, inſtead of riding againſt the files, they galloped through an opening they found in the line, and never ſtopped till they found themſelves without the reach of our cannon. One field piece, being a ſix-pounder, was found by our men, ſunk to the axle, and diſcovered to be one of the eight guns belonging to Colonel Baillie.

Night having overtaken our troops in the midſt of their victory, the ſecond brigade was called in, and the army encamped. In this action, which, from the paſs, is called the battle of Chillangur, Hyder-Ally loſt one thouſand men, and a greater number of horſes. The loſs on our ſide did not exceed that of one officer and ſixty private ſoldiers.

The General, without money, and without provisions, did not think it advisable to pursue the retreating enemy: but, on the day after the action, directing his march to the interior Pollams, he came over eight miles of fatiguing ground, and encamped. What he had now in view, was, to offer the Polygars the same terms which, in the day of our prosperity we had violated, if they would espouse our cause, and give up the interests of Hyder-Ally.

The Polygars enjoy a degree of freedom unknown in the plains of India; the strength of their situation, amidst hills, woods, and deep ravines, producing the same effects with the like situations in other countries. There never was a power, among all the conquerors in India, to whom they so soon became tributary as that formidable invader, Hyder-Ally. The Chief of the Polygars, in this part of the country, Bomrauze, had promised to furnish Sir Eyre Coote both with money and rice, after Hyder should be defeated, when he might do it with safety. The General now called upon him to fulfil his promises. The promises were continued, but the rice and money were not produced. The General, therefore, having served out his last measure of rice, broke through the barrier, and penetrated into the interior Pollams, by a forced

march,

march, on the 1ſt of October, determined to compel Bom-rauze to fulfil his engagements. On the 5th, he ſent out detachments from his camp at the village of Attamancherry, to bring in cattle and rice wherever they could be found. Theſe Bom-rauze induſtriouſly threw in the way of our parties; a policy by which he hoped to avert the immediate vengeance of the Engliſh, whom he eſſentially ſerved, and to obtain from Hyder, in caſe of a reverſe of fortune, not only indulgence and excuſe on the ſcore of compulſion, but indemnification for his heavy loſſes.

On the 7th of October, a detachment of ſix battalions, two hundred horſe, and twelve field-pieces, under the command of Colonel Owen, marched out of the camp in the night, with the deſign of intercepting a large convoy from the Myſore country on its way to Hyder's encampment at Lalpet. But Hyder, as uſual, receiving early intelligence of this attempt, ordered the convoy to return to one of his poſts. —In the mean time, as our affairs had now begun to wear a pleaſing aſpect, the army, without departing from that vigilance and military diſcipline which became their ſituation, enjoyed a grateful and ſalutary relaxation after their toils, in the delightful vale in which they were encamped, and Sir Eyre Coote liberally enter-

tained his officers at a plentiful and feſtive board. But, on the 23d, having received the news of Colonel Owen's diſappointment and retreat, as ſoon as matters could be arranged after being ſo long in a fixed camp, they deſcended from the Polygar country, croſſed the plain of Paliper, and joined the detachment under Colonel Owen at the village of Mydowaddee.

A few days previous to the 23d, a company of European grenadiers commanded by Captain Moore, together with two twelve pounders and ſome petards, joined Colonel Owen for the declared purpoſe of ſtorming the fort of Chittoor. Hyder, not waiting for Owen's march to Chittoor, formed the deſign of cutting him off, by coming between his camp and the paſs to which it was near. For this end, ſoon after it was dark, in the night of the 22d, he began his march from Lalpet, and, notwithſtanding the delays that uſually attend a nocturnal movement, he had gained in his progreſs four hours of daylight before Colonel Owen received any intelligence of his ſecret expedition. The Colonel, who had encamped only two miles weſtward of the paſs, fortunately arrived, by a rapid march, before the enemy. As the detachment began to defile, Hyder's cannon-ſhot fell among them with great execution. The confuſion into which this

this threw the battalion in the rear, encouraged a body of horſe to ruſh upon them at full gallop. The battalion was quickly diſperſed, and Captain Walker, who commanded it, was killed. The fall of this excellent officer and amiable man, on whom the according voice of all who knew him had beſtowed the epithet of *honeſt*, was exceedingly lamented, and drew not a little odium and reproach upon the battalion, to whoſe irreſolution it was generally aſcribed. The ſepoys ſeeing this battalion, which had hitherto been eſteemed one of the beſt in the ſervice, thus driven before the enemy, loſt all regard to the word of command, and fell into diſorder and conſternation.—What ſaved the detachment from entire deſtruction, was, Captain Moore's company of Europeans, who at this critical moment wheeled rapidly to the rear, and poured a volley of ſhot among the enemy, preſſing in crouds round a field piece which our ſepoys had deſerted. By this ſpirited action, the gun was recovered, the party that crouded around it diſperſed, the rapidity of the purſuit checked, and the ſepoys, recovered from their panic, reunited to the effective force of our little army. Captain Moore ſtill kept in the rear, which enabled Colonel Owen to make good his retreat with diſcipline, and without further riſk of deſtruction. Intelligence being received of the approach of the

army, the detachment halted, and Hyder, rightly conjecturing, if not particularly informed of what had happened, withdrew the purſuit, and returned to his camp at Lalpet. In this expedition ſeven officers, and about three hundred men, were killed or wounded. Colonel Owen, with all his camp-equipage, loſt his private baggage; but this was paid for by Government, at the particular deſire of the Commander in Chief.

The General, on the 26th October, removed his camp to Palipet, whither a detachment returned on the 28th, that had carried the ſick and wounded to Tripatore. This party fell in by accident with ſeven hundred bullocks laden with ſalt, which afforded a ſeaſonable ſupply to our troops. These bullocks were the rear of a convoy of five thouſand, deſtined for Hyder's camp: a due degree of information would have enabled our men to make an eaſy acquiſition of the whole.

Theſe immaterial circumſtances are introduced here as prefatory to an important obſervation made by every gentleman in the army that ſerved in the war againſt Hyder Ally-Cawn, and Tippoo Saib, whether on the coaſt of Malabar or the Carnatic. A battalion was never detached from

from our army but Hyder had the earlieſt notice of it:—of Hyder's moſt capital movements we had not the ſmalleſt intelligence.—Hyder, it is well known, paid liberally for information; and it is as well known, that a moſt ſparing hand dealt out the money that was paid for ours. The natives of the Carnatic, though by nature puſillanimous, will undergo great hazards for the ſake of gain: but the meaneſt hireling will not incur the riſk of torments and death for *five pagodas:* yet ſecret ſervice money was charged to Government to a large amount.—Surmiſes fell on ſome agents; but none on the General.

About the 1ſt of November, at ſome diſtance from the Engliſh camp near the village of Palipet, a valuable quantity of rice was found, and ſufficient for the ſupply of the garriſon of Vellore, which from the want of that neceſſary article was at this time in the greateſt diſtreſs. In conveying the rice to that place, our army met not with the leaſt moleſtation: not that our movements eſcaped the uſual vigilance of Hyder, but becauſe he was not able, at this juncture, to bring his numerous and ill-regulated body, governed not by diſcipline, but in a great meaſure by circumſtances of ſuperſtition and currents of paſſion, to meet our men in the field of battle.

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This ſupply, therefore, notwithſtanding the reports induſtriouſly ſpread by the enemy, of ſtations occupied for cutting it off, was ſafely conveyed to Vellore: and, on the 7th, the army ſat down before Chittoor, which after a ſiege of two days, when our troops were in readineſs to ſtorm it, propoſed, on the 10th, terms of capitulation. The Killedar, having fortified himſelf with bang, came out, with a few attendants, carrying a flag of truce, and boldly declared, that he would defend Chittoor to the laſt extremity, unleſs the garriſon ſhould be permitted to go where they pleaſed, and to carry off all their private property. His conditions were granted, and the fort was given up. The ſenior engineer of our army, Captain Tippet, was killed by a random ball from a match-lock piece; but the firing from two very bad guns did not the ſmalleſt hurt to any of our officers or ſoldiers. From the forts of Carangooly, Tripaſſore, and Chittoor, being without artillery, we may ſuppoſe that Hyder never conſidered them as tenable. The garriſons held on the frontier were in a far different ſtate of defence.

At this time the heavens threatened every inſtant the fall of the monſoon floods: yet ſtill the army continued to lie before Chittore, from the reduction of which they had not deriv[illegible] one

advantage. They became ſtraitened for want of rice to feed the ſepoys, and began to feel the diſtreſſes of forces checked in their views, and cut off from their ſupplies. The General, who no doubt had his reaſons for continuing before Chittoor, was diſappointed in ſome expectation, not publicly revealed, and manifeſted unequivocal ſymptons of chagrin and diſcontent.

But, upon the 15th of November, Sir Eyre Coote was called from this ſcene of inaction, and apparent ſuſpence, by a letter received from Captain Temple, the officer left at Palipet, informing him that Hyder himſelf had fallen on his poſt unexpectedly, that he himſelf and his ſepoys had found protection in the hills, but that the baggage and guns had become the property of the enemy. Orders were now given for the army to march next morning from Chittoor, in which Captain Lamotte was left with two field-pieces and a battalion of ſepoys. When the General began to move from this place, on the 16th, Mahommed Ally, one of Hyder's auxiliary Chiefs, made a ſhew of cavalry, as if he meant to diſpute the paſſage of the Engliſh over the river Ponee, but retreated before a few cannon balls. The army ſoon after this encamped at the paſs of Dalamampetta, through which they deſcended on the 17th of November,

and

and halted at Palipet. Here they were joined by Captain Temple's battalion, and the General was informed that it had been determined by Hyder, that Tippoo ſhould march through the Pollams, ſtop at Pollore, and, with the guns he ſhould take there, added to thoſe of which he had become maſter at Palipet, advance to the ſiege of Tripaſſore.

A heavy cannonade, heard in the Engliſh camp, within a few hours, confirmed this intelligence, and ſummoned, in all the terrific pomp of war, the Engliſh army to the relief of their friends in diſtreſs. On the 19th, they had no ſooner ſet out on their march to Tripaſſore, than the clouds broke, and thoſe rains deſcended, which, in the fall of the year, pouring from the perpendicular ſides of extenſive mountains, render the rivers impaſſable in the ſhort ſpace of two days. The General, urged by the gathering floods, with the beds of three rivers on the rout that lay before him, continued his march without interruption 'till ten o'clock at night, when the van was ordered to halt: but the rear did not come up 'till one o'clock on the next day. The roads were already ſo much deepened by the rains, that an elephant, three camels, and a number of horſes, with many carriages and bullocks, ſtuck faſt in the mud, and were left be-

hind

hind our men on their march. The laſt branch of the Palar was found juſt fordable when they croſſed it on the 21ſt. On the evening of that day the army encamped near Tripaſſore, with no more than two days proviſions. Tippoo Saib, although he had made a breach in one of the ſides of the fort, had withdrawn his forces: a circumſtance which ſeemed to juſtify the opinion of the Commanding Officer, that Tippoo did not act with a view to obtain poſſeſſion of Tripaſſore, and that the attack on this place was a plan of Hyder's for drawing the Engliſh from the Pollams. It happened fortunately for our army, whatever were the ſtratagems of the enemy, that the cannonade againſt Tripaſſore haſtened their ſteps as they returned from thoſe hilly regions.

Sir Eyre Coote, November the 23d, altered the poſition of the troops by encamping on the Coccalore plain above Tripaſſore. The army, having loſt one-third of the ſtrength it poſſeſſed when it marched, in Auguſt, from the Mount, occupied, on the 3d of December, the cantonements from which it had been drawn together on the ſame month of the preceding year. This campaign abounds with incidents more intereſting in their nature, as they lead to general concluſions, than important in their immediate and particular effects. It was not marked by any event

event that promiſed to decide the general iſſue of the war, but it ſhewed Europeans the means by which they may be ſucceſsfully oppoſed by Aſiatic enemies.

While our army lay encamped on the plain of Coccalore, a royal ſalute was fired on account of the reduction of the Dutch garriſon of Negapatnam, by the combined forces of the navy under Sir Edward Hughes, and the army ſtationed in Tanjore, the command of which had been given to Major-General Sir Hector Munro. The garriſon in this place had been reinforced by a large detachment of Hyder-Ally's troops, and new works had been added, by French engineers, to the fortifications. The garriſon conſiſted of ſome thouſands of men, but of theſe only five hundred were Europeans. On the 21ſt of October, the Company's troops appeared at Nagore. The ſame day, the whole corps of marines, amounting to four hundred and forty-three, officers included, landed, and joined the Company's troops: and, on the 22d, a battalion of ſeamen from the ſquadron, conſiſting of eight hundred and twenty-ſeven, including officers, was alſo landed: the whole under the command of the Captains Mackenzie, Mackay, and Reynolds, with orders to co-operate with Sir Hector Munro to the utmoſt, in all meaſures

meaſures for the reduction of Negapatnam. In the mean time, battering cannon for the attack, conſiſting of four eighteen-pounders, and two twelve-pounders, iron guns from the tranſports, with twelve eighteen-pounders from the ſhips of the ſquadron, two mortars with their carriages, and a ſuitable quantity of ammunition of all kinds, were landed through a great ſurf by the boats of the ſquadron, and on rafts, or catamarans, made for that purpoſe, with incredible fatigue to the men, but at the ſame time with incredible ſpeed and alacrity.

The ſtrong lines which the enemy had thrown up, flanked by redoubts to cover and defend the approach to the town, being ſtormed, and carried by our troops, the General opened ground againſt the north face of the fort, on the 3d of November, and the approaches were carried on with great rapidity. On the 5th Sir Edward Hughes moved with a part of the ſquadron nearer to the fort, on the flank of the Britiſh lines; and on the 6th, early in the morning, he came on ſhore, to concert with the General the beſt means of carrying on the ſiege with vigour. A battery of ten eighteen-pounders, within three hundred paces of the walls of the place, being ready to open, a joint ſummons was ſent from the General and Admiral to the Dutch Gover-

nor,

nor, requiring him to capitulate, which he refuſed to do in poſitive terms. But a moſt formidable breach-battery having played on a baſtion with great effect, the Dutch Governor, who, during the courſe of the ſiege had made two deſperate ſallies, with the greater part of the garriſon, early in the morning of the 11th demanded a parley, and ſent out two commiſſioners to the General in camp, with terms of honourable capitulation, which were granted.

The Admiral, after experiencing all the viciſſitudes of a monſoon, and receiving on board his ſquadron a detachment of the Company's land forces, conſiſting of an officer and thirty European and native artillery, and about five hundred volunteer ſepoys, under a Captain and five ſubalterns, ſailed from the road of Negapatnam, on the 2d of Jan. 1782, and arrived in Trincomalé Bay, in the iſland of Ceylon, on the 4th, where he found an Engliſh ſhip of war, under the command of Captain Montague, that had been ſtationed, by the foreſight and activity of Government, ever ſince the month of Auguſt, 1781, for the purpoſe of blocking up the Dutch ſhips in the harbour. Our troops were landed on the 5th, and, on the night of that day, Trincomalé fort was taken without reſiſtance.

tance. The grenadier company of marines, with the guns, ruſhed into it through the gate-way, while the Governor was drawing up terms of capitulation. In this fortreſs, which commanded the only place where proviſions and ſtores could be landed from the ſhips, ten iron guns were found of different calibres: and three officers with forty men were made priſoners.

The Admiral now directed his force againſt Fort Oſtenburgh, ſituated on the top of an high hill which commanded the harbour, and containing all that remained of the ſtrength of the enemy. After an interchange of ſeveral polite and friendly letters, between Sir Edward Hughes and Van Albert Homoed the Governor, who had lived on the footing of intimate acquaintance and perſonal attachment, Oſtenburgh was taken by aſſault, about day-light, in the morning of January 11th. The aſſailants had the misfortune of loſing Lieutenant George Long, ſecond Lieutenant to the Admiral, who was killed as he bravely advanced to the aſſault at the head of his company, and alſo twenty non-commiſſioned and private ſeamen and marines. Lieutenant Wolſely, who commanded a company of ſeamen, Lieutenant Samuel Orr, who commanded the grenadier company of marines, and did duty as a Brigade-Major, and forty non-commiſſioned

and private ſeamen and marines were wounded. The enemy loſt but few men, as they ſoon, for the moſt part, threw down their arms; and their lives, though forfeited by the laws of war, were ſpared by the clemency of the conqueror.—The Governor, with the garriſon, conſiſting of about four hundred Europeans, including officers, were taken priſoners.

By theſe ſucceſſes, eaſily obtained, the Dutch were driven entirely from the coaſt of Coromandel; an avenue was opened to the reduction of their ſettlements in Ceylon, and a door was opened into the heart of Tanjore, which ſpread the terror of the Engliſh name throughout that and the adjacent countries. Hyder-Ally's troops evacuated all the forts and ſtrong-poſts they held in Tanjore; and the Polygars in the Marawa and Tinavelly provinces, who, at the inſtigation of Hyder, had rebelled againſt the Nabob of the Carnatic, and taken part againſt us, returned to their obedience.

The reduction of the Dutch forts was a meaſure that originated with Lord Macartney, who ſucceeded to the inglorious Mr. Whitehill in the government of Madras, and who firſt brought the news of a Dutch war, in June 1781, to India.

By

While the Engliſh fleet was employed in making and ſecuring the eaſy acquiſitions above deſcribed, the movements of our land armies in the Carnatic and in Tanjore were as follow.—Sir Eyre Coote, informed of the diſtreſs, marched to the relief of the garriſon of Vellore: but, on the 5th of Jan. 1782, indiſpoſition, ariſing not more from bodily fatigue and the cares of war, than from the vexatious diſputes in which he found himſelf involved with the new Governor of Madras, obliged him to halt at Tripaſſore. The General's declining frame, on this anxious day, was threaten'd with inſtant diſſolution, and his life was deſpaired for ſeveral hours. On the 6th, however, his ſtrength was ſo far reſtored, as to admit of being borne in his palanquin. The army rejoiced at his recovery, reſumed their march, and encamped at a village called Edinburg, which, from its ſameneſs with the name of the capital of Scotland, affected the 73d regiment with a lively and tender recollection of their native country.

Nothing material paſſed 'till the 10th, when the army, now in the ſight of Vellore, with the convoy to the right under the hills, dragging their artillery through a deep moraſs, which Hyder had thrown in their way by breaking down the banks of a tank, were ſtruck with the

appearance of the enemy's line, which to the eye appeared to be regular, ſhooting towards their rear and baggage. But happily our army had croſſed the moraſs before they came up. A diſtant cannonade now commenced, which laſted above ſix hours, and by which we had three ſubaltern officers and ſixty-nine ſoldiers killed, or loſt to the ſervice by heavy cannon-ſhot wounds. The convoy was ſafely lodged in Vellore on the 11th, and on the 13th, the army coming up to the ſame moraſs, in their return, found Hyder prepared on the other ſide to diſpute their paſſage. A diſtant cannonade took place between the two armies, by which the Engliſh loſt Captain Lucas of the artillery, and nearly the ſame number of men that fell by the firing of the 10th. Hyder fell back, and our men purſued their march.

Upon the 15th, the army, after a long march, encamped near Tritani Pagoda, from whence the enemy's camp was ſeen at a diſtance, fronting ours. On the 16th the General moved the army about two miles nearer the enemy, who alſo, on their part, drew ſomewhat nearer to him. Various manœuvres were practiſed on both ſides. Sir Eyre Coote challenged Hyder-Ally to try the fortune of a battle on ground approved by the Engliſh; and Hyder, in his turn,

turn, dared Sir Eyre Coote to come on and meaſure the ſtrength of the Engliſh with his, on ground which he had choſen. After a mutual diſcharge of artillery, the armies parted and pitched their tents.

The Engliſh General, having returned to the Mount, applied himſelf to the conſtruction of magazines, one at Chingliput, and one at Tripaſſore: a meaſure which, could it have been carried into execution ſooner, would have ſoftened the inconveniencies, given ſyſtem to the marches, and advantage and effect to the victories gained by the army. The continuance of our troops in that ſtation was prolonged by the unhappy differences between Sir Eyre Coote and Lord Macartney, which made it neceſſary for the General to apply to the Supreme Council of Bengal, for the reſtoration of his authority over the ſouthern army, that he might be able to direct the co-operation of the whole force under his command, in ſuch a manner as might promote his own ſchemes and counteract thoſe of the enemy. It was while our army remained in this ſtate of inaction, that our army in Tan- above 2000 men, with 12 pieces of cannon, r the command of Colonel Braithwaite, fell the hands of Tippoo Saib, as above related.

Feb. 1782. Hyder-Ally, notwithſtanding that in every encounter our main army kept the field, and marched and counter-marched whitherſoever the relief of the diſtreſſed, or the hope of advantage and deciſive engagement called them, by the poſſeſſion of many ſtrong-holds, and the devaſtation of the open country, had eſtabliſhed himſelf ſo firmly in the Carnatic, that all our exertions to drive him out had hitherto proved, and were too likely ſtill to prove abortive. To attack his dominions from the coaſt of Malabar, a meaſure which formed a part of the original plan for conducting the war, appeared now to be even more neceſſary, than had, at firſt, been imagined.

The firſt idea, as has already been obſerved, which occurred to the Governor-General, after ſending a ſupply of men and treaſure to Madras, was, to make a diverſion in favour of our operations on the eaſtern, by an attack on Hyder on the weſtern coaſt of the peninſula. This was connected with another object: peace with the Mahrattas. For this end, propoſals for an accommodation with that people, were tranſmitted, in October, 1780, to the Adminiſtry of Poonah, in which the Engliſh offered to relinquiſh every conqueſt, except Ammedabad and Gualior: the firſt of which places, conquered

quered by an army from Bengal under General Goddard, had been guaranteed to our ally Futty Sing; the ſecond, reduced in a manner almoſt miraculous, by a ſmall force commanded by Major Popham, to the Ranah of Gohud. The conditions required from the Mahrattas, were, that they ſhould unite with the Engliſh in an offenſive alliance againſt Hyder-Ally, of whoſe poſſeſſions, uſurped from the Mahrattas, a conqueſt was to be made and equal diviſion. It was ſtipulated that the Commander in Chief of the Engliſh army ſhould immediately ſuſpend all hoſtilities and military operations againſt the Mahrattas, whenever he ſhould receive a requiſition to that effect from the Paiſhwa; and that ſimilar orders ſhould be given, on his part, to the officer commanding the Mahratta armies. Copies of the propoſed treaty were ſent to the Select Committee of Bombay, and to General Goddard. To the General formal orders were alſo ſent for a ceſſation of arms whenever the Mahratta Miniſter ſhould require it: but, until a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities ſhould be required, he was directed to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour.

Three months having elapſed from the date of the treaty, and no notification received from the Paiſhwa, either of its arrival, or of any re-

ſolution to which he had come after taking it into conſideration, our military operations were continued with unremitted ardour, and, in the middle of January, 1781, the whole of the army aſſembled at Viſrabuy, a place about twenty miles inland from Baſſein, which is accounted among the Hindoos a place of great ſanctity, and alſo held in high reputation for its hot-wells, which are ſaid to have great medicinal virtues. From this poſt it was determined to advance to Poonah, the ſeat of the Mahratta Government.

There is a chain of high hills, riſing almoſt perpendicular from the plains below, which extends itſelf from north to ſouth, along the Malabar coaſt, from Guzzarat to Cape Comorin, though indenting the land at different diſtances from the ocean. Between the gauts or paſſes that lead through this range of mountains into the country of the Mahrattas to the eaſt, which from its great elevation is ſtiled the Bala Gaut, and the ſea on the weſt, lies a tract of country of conſiderable extent, called the Concan. In this country, and at the foot of the hills and gauts that form its eaſtern boundary, there was a Mahratta army conſiſting of at leaſt twenty thouſand horſe and foot, with about fifteen pieces of artillery. Theſe were poſted on

the road to Bore Gaut, one of the moſt eaſy and practicable paſſes, and where the enemy expected that we meant to make our aſcent into their country, as it had been made choice of for the ſame end by the Government of Bombay on a former occaſion, and was in fact the neareſt, and moſt convenient route to the Mahratta capital, which is not at a greater diſtance from this paſs than five and forty miles. The Mahrattas, notwithſtanding their numbers, oppoſed not any thing to the progreſs of our troops, excepting a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes, in which they always ſuffered defeat and diſadvantage. But when our troops reached Campoley, on the 8th of February, at the entrance of the Bore Gaut, they were informed that the enemy had previouſly aſcended this paſs, and that there was reaſon to apprehend that they had come to a reſolution of diſputing it obſtinately. Certain intelligence was brought, that about forty thouſand infantry, with a ſuitable train of artillery, had taken poſt at the top of it, and that the whole Mahratta army, lately reinforced by fifteen thouſand men under Holkar, and about half that number under another Chief called Roganaut Pundit, was encamped at no great diſtance.

General

General Goddard, conſidering that delay would not only increaſe the confidence of the enemy, but afford them an opportunity of conſtructing new works, which would render the paſs every day more difficult and hazardous, reſolved to ſeize it that very night by ſtorm. The grenadiers, under the command of Colonel Parker, entered into the foot of the paſs at midnight, and by ſteep and rugged paths, through narrow and winding defiles, aſcended to its very ſummit, drove them from Condolah, and thus completely ſubdued all that could now obſtruct their progreſs to the place of their deſtination. Captain Chriſtie, of the engineers, who was well acquainted with the paſs, having made the campaign of 1779, was, at his own requeſt appointed to lead the ſtorming party. For this piece of ſervice, which he performed with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs, he was recommended by the General to the attention of the Government of Bombay. The terror of the enemy, at the near approach of our army to their capital, was ſo great, that they entirely burnt and deſtroyed Tullicanoon, a very conſiderable town, about half way, and had actually made every preparation for ſetting fire to Poonah, by filling the houſes with ſtraw, and removing the inhabitants with their effects to the neighbourhood of Setterah.

This circumſtance being known, with many other conſiderations, prevented our army from advancing to the capital, and confined the remaining operations of the campaign to a defence of the conqueſts already made. As our whole force did not exceed ſix thouſand men, while that of the enemy was not leſs than eight times that number, it was impoſſible to make any diviſion of their force, or even to leave a detachment ſufficiently ſtrong to defend the poſt at Bore Gaut, if they ſhould advance beyond it. Unaſſiſted by cavalry, they could not hope to command proviſions, or even to procure forage, in a country deſolated and ruined: and this circumſtance would have obliged them to carry along with them a very ample ſupply of grain, which, of courſe, would have greatly encumbered and endangered their march.

It is further to be obſerved, that an invaſion of the Deccan, where there was not any hope of their being joined by any party of the Mahratta ſtate, promiſed not any event that could materially influence the ſtate of the war, and far leſs decide its termination. Without any determinate object to be attained, or the hope of a revolution to encourage their continuance, for any length of time, in the country, all that they would have acquired, would have been the

empty

empty glory of poſſeſſing for a few days, the Mahratta capital, in effecting a retreat from which they muſt have incurred the moſt imminent dangers.

Meanwhile, in repeated letters from the coaſt of Coromandel, the moſt pointed and urgent repreſentations were continually made of the neceſſity of making a powerful diverſion in favour of our army in the Carnatic. In theſe letters the diſadvantages which that meaſure would relieve, and the farther loſſes which it would obviate, were painted in lively and alarming colours, without any conſideration of the actual ſtate of Bombay, or of the certain ruin with which that Preſidency, if the force neceſſary to its ſecurity ſhould be detached on a remote and ſeparate ſervice, would be menaced by the Mahrattas.

In theſe embarraſſing circumſtances, the Government of Bombay, in concert with General Goddard, ſtrained every nerve to afford relief to that of Madras, without leaving themſelves entirely defenceleſs. But the utmoſt exertions that could be made on the weſtern ſide of India, at a time when they were engaged in a war with the whole Mahratta empire, was, to relieve the Madras troops at Tellicherry, by an equal proportion from Bombay, and to ſend the former

round

round to the coaſt of Coromandel. General Goddard, in order to carry this expedient into execution, deſcended the Bore Gaut, and marched towards the ſea coaſt. This movement was concerted with ſuch ſecrecy and ſkill, that the whole of the artillery and heavy ſtores reached the foot of the poſt in ſafety, and without the ſmalleſt interruption from the enemy, who were aſtoniſhed, on the morning of the 18th April, 1782, to find that our poſt at Condolah had been deſerted during the preceding night.

In this retreat General Goddard committed the ſame error into which Colonel Hartley had fallen a few months before, in encamping, on that day, at the entrance of a narrow defile leading to the village of Choke, although he might have eaſily arrived at this place in the evening. In paſſing through the defile next morning he was ſo much annoyed by the enemy as to be under the neceſſity of halting at the village for three days. As the baggage was ſo enormous as to endanger the army, the General, during his ſtay at Choke, ordered all the ſpare arms to be buried, and deſired all the officers, particularly thoſe at the heads of departments, to lighten theirs as much as poſſible; which was done accordingly. In the evening of the day before that on which the army reſumed their march, the

the General, having received from Captain Chriſtie a ſketch of the roads through which the troops were to paſs, gave orders for Captain Macleod, a very gallant and experienced officer, who always commanded the advanced guard, as Captain of pioneers, with Captain Chriſtie as his guide and aid-de-camp, to march at two o'clock in the morning, with all the European pioneers, a ſtrong detachment of grenadier ſepoys, Captain War's battalion, and all the baggage of the army, with all poſſible expedition, and take poſt at Barrow, on very ſtrong ground, about eight miles on the road to Panwells, and there to wait for the main army, which was alſo to march at day-break, in profound ſilence.

The enemy, ignorant of this diſpoſition and movement, ſuffered the baggage and advanced guard to march and take poſt at Barrow, uninoleſted. But the main army, ſharply attacked from the moment they began to move, owed their preſervation to their own undaunted courage, and the nature of the country, which did not admit of the action of cavalry. The General, to Captain Chriſtie who went to congratulate him after his arrival at the appointed ſtation, on the ſucceſs of his conduct, ſaid, that "If the baggage, with the advanced guard, had

"had not marched as they did, it would have "been the worſt day that the Company ever "ſaw." In this retreat, Colonel Parker, the ſecond in command, loſt his life.

The enemy, previouſly to the arrival of our army at Barrow, in order to diſtreſs our troops, had cut through the banks of a large pond. They now became the victims of their own contrivance. They were obliged, through want of water, to go back for it to the village of Choke; which afforded General Goddard an opportunity of proceeding, without moleſtation, to Panwells, where he fixed his camp. A few days after this the troops divided. Thoſe of the Bengal Eſtabliſhment returned by land to Surat: the Bombay detachment returned to the Preſidency.

While the army were diſpoſed in winter quarters, General Goddard, notwithſtanding the tempeſtuous weather, which renders navigation on the coaſt of Malabar, at that ſeaſon, extremely dangerous, and almoſt impracticable, ſailed for Surat, where he arrived on the ſecond of Auguſt. Soon after his arrival, he effected an interview with Futty Sing, and obtained from that Chief a body of five thouſand horſe for the ſervice of the enſuing campaign, which

exceeded

exceeded by two thouſand the number he was obliged to furniſh by treaty. This important object being accompliſhed, and ſuch military arrangements being made as were not only neceſſary for the protection of Guzzarat, but for co-operating with the Bengal detachment ſtationed on the northern confines of Malva, the General returned to Bombay.

Immediately after the return of the enemy from the Carnatic, the greater part of the Madras detachment, relieved by troops from Bombay, agreeably to the reſolution above mentioned, was ſent round from Tellicherry to the coaſt of Coromandel.

Tellicherry is a valuable ſettlement upon the coaſt of Malabar, dependant on the Preſidency of Bombay. It has a good road for ſhipping; and here the coaſting veſſels between Bombay and the coaſt of Coromandel are ſupplied with refreſhments. A briſk commerce has been carried on at this place, particularly in the pepper trade, ever ſince the firſt diſcovery of India by Europeans. After the capture of Mahée from the French, it was garriſoned by the Madras detachment, who defended it againſt the attacks of the Nairs, tributary to Hyder-Ally.

On

On the 7th of May, 1781, Major William Abington arrived at Tellicherry, with a relief to the Garriſon, conſiſting of a detachment of artillery, one company of infantry, and the 10th and 11th battalions of ſepoys. After landing his troops, which were immediately ſent to relieve the Madras Europeans and ſepoys in various parts of the lines, his firſt care was to viſit and inſpect the fortifications. The lines were of great extent, reaching from Moylan to Codoley, and including the ſhore near eight miles in circumference. They had of late been much neglected, on a ſuppoſition that the ſettlement was to have been withdrawn; and, in many places, they exhibited the appearance of deformed and defenceleſs ruins. Theſe circumſtances, joined to the ſituation of the enemy, ſuggeſted to the Major the idea of making an attack, inſtead of purſuing defenſive operations; but that deſign not being approved of by the Madras Commander, was dropt. On the 15th, Major Cotgrave embarked with the Madras troops, and left the garriſon to the charge of Major Abington.

A truſt of ſuch difficulty was not to be diſcharged ſucceſsfully by common genius, nor confined experience in the art of war. Lines of vaſt extent, and ruinous condition, were to

be repaired and defended by a ſmall number of troops; while they were continually aſſaulted by a large army (great part of Hyder's beſt troops) of ſubtle, fierce, and obſtinate barbarians. The reparation of the works became the grand object of the Major's attention. In a few days a ſmall battery was opened with conſiderable effect. The moſt judicious orders were, at the ſame time, iſſued to the out-poſts, to prevent the danger of a ſudden attack.

A hircarrah ſent out in queſt of intelligence, returned with an account, that the enemy's force, altogether, exceeded not twelve thouſand; that Surdar Cawn, their leader, had lately received ſome letters reſpecting Hyder-Ally, which ſeemed to affect his ſpirits; but that, notwithſtanding his viſible dejection, he ſtill continued to aſſure his officers and men of his fixed intention never to quit the place 'till he had taken Tellicherry. Two days after, accounts arrived, which proved to be erroneous, of this formidable Chief's being killed by a cannon ſhot, as he was reconnoitering the lines.

The fortifications ſtill continued to be repaired and improved; not, however, without great interruption and annoyance from the enemy. This ſyſtem of defence was not embraced by Major

Major Abington from choice, but neceſſity. He might, indeed, have made more ſallies, and diſlodged the enemy from ſome of their poſts; but he ſaw the abſurdity of taking poſts which he wanted troops to defend, while he could not ſpare a ſingle man from duty to act as a reſerve. For three whole months the lines remained unbroken, the enemy were detected and counteracted in every ſtratagem, and in every attack repulſed with loſs.

Early in the morning of the 24th of Auguſt, they made a vigorous aſſault upon the lines between Wood's Poſt and the Green Redoubt, and, owing to the negligence of the auxiliaries, about three hundred ruſhed within our out-works. The Moplas gave way at firſt, but, obſerving that the ſepoys preſerved their wonted ſpirit and bravery, they ſuffered themſelves to be rallied, and returning to the attack, made dreadful havock among the aſſailants. Twenty of them were killed within the lines, above ſixty lay between the ditch and abattie, and great numbers all along the field. Had the morning been clear, their loſs muſt have been far more conſiderable. On the part of the garriſon, the loſs was only five wounded.

On the 6th of the following month, another attempt was made, by three parties of a thousand each, at different places. They advanced under cover of a very thick fog, got in by one of the posts defended by the irregulars, and took post at Wood's Redoubt with two stand of colours. They were very soon dislodged by the sepoys, sixteen being killed on the platform and the rock below, and above thirty driven into the sea. Indeed their loss was not exactly known, the same fog which favoured their approach enabling them to carry off their dead unobserved.

Notwithstanding these successes, the situation of Major Abington and his garrison was very distressful. His dispatches which he had sent to Bombay, requesting supplies of men and military stores, had been lost at sea. A heavy and almost continual cannonade from the besiegers, together with excessive fatigue, daily lessened the number of his effective men, and those that remained were harrassed with the double duty of soldiers and labourers. For the enemy had run several mines with effect under the works, and some even under the lines and counterscarp of the ditch at Fort Moylan, to discover and destroy which, required unceasing toil. They had also run their trenches, in many places, within

within a yard of our lines. The engineers were indeed very ſucceſsful in counteracting theſe ſubterraneous approaches, and thereby ſo diſconcerted the beſiegers, that, concluding their meaſures to be betrayed by their Captain of pioneers, they cut off his noſe and ears: but ſuch advantages were frequently rendered imperfect and abortive by the ſcarcity of ammunition.

On the 13th of November, in the evening, a Niar* entered at Fort Moylan, with two human heads in a baſket, in ſuch a ſtate of putridity as not to be approached. They belonged, he ſaid, to the Zamorin and his miniſter; and he gave this account of the lamentable fate of that unfortunate prince. About twelve days before, he had left his brothers at Toour, to go to Manjeree, a village ſituated about five leagues above Calicut, deſigning to collect his ſhare of the harveſt; a practice which, though not publicly authorized by Hyder's government, had for ſome years been connived at, but always diſputed by the people, particularly the Moplas. The prince brought with him only an hundred of his own Niars, but, in his way to Manjeree, he was joined by ſeveral more, for the ſake of plunder. A number of theſe had ſwords and

* The Niars were the antient natives of the Malabar coaſt.

targets, ſome had lances, and others muſkets; but all were ill provided with ammunition, not having more than two or three rounds each. They arrived at Manjeree, and collected ſome rain. In the mean time, about eight hundred Moplas* ſecretly aſſembled, and in the night, ſurrounding the place where the prince and his party lay, ſurprized them the next morning in ſuch confuſion, that few had time to make any reſiſtance. Every one conſulting his own ſafety, the prince was ſoon deſerted by all his people; and, thinking to conceal himſelf from the Moplas till an opportunity ſhould offer of making his eſcape, he jumped into a deep pit overgrown with buſhes. Of the prince's party, twenty, with his miniſter, were killed, and three taken priſoners, of whom this Niar was one. Thoſe who eſcaped rallied, and made ſome attempts to reſcue the prince, or carry off his body if he ſhould be killed; but they were repulſed by the Moplas, who, after a long and fruitleſs ſearch, threatened to kill their priſoners, unleſs they diſcovered the retreat of their maſter. One of them, hoping to ſave his own life, betrayed that of his prince, by pointing to the place where he was concealed.

The

* A ſect of Muſſulmans, originally Arabian merchants, who ſettled on the Malabar coaſt for trade,

The Moplas immediately ſhot him dead, dragged up his body, and having cut off his head, obliged the priſoners to carry it, together with that of his miniſter, to Calicut, from whence they were ſent to Surdar Cawn. At this piteous ſpectacle the ſavage Chief was greatly pleaſed; but, to avoid the effluvia, he ordered them to be placed at a diſtance from him, and the priſoners to be unbound and releaſed. The Cawn having ſoon after retired into his tent, and his guards being diſperſed, it appeared not impoſſible to the faithful Niar to ſave his maſter's head from ſuffering greater indignities, and ſecure it a burial; he therefore watched his opportunity, took up the baſket, and made his eſcape into the lines of Tellicherry.

The warm reception which the enemy had found in repeated attempts to ſtorm the lines, had given them a diſguſt at that mode of attack; and they now kept up a heavy cannonade, with diſcharges of muſquetry, and running of mines in various directions. This laſt, by the great number of their working people, they were enabled to purſue with eaſe and expedition; ſo that, in ſpite of all the vigilance and aſſiduity of the garriſon, frequent and formidable breaches were made in the lines; but to theſe the ſepoys of the enemy would never advance, though urged on by threats, ſtripes, and even wounds.

In the midſt of theſe efforts of gallant perſeverance, a letter arrived from the Governor and Select Committee of Bombay, declaring their utter inability to make any farther proviſion for the maintenance of Tellicherry, and their determination to withdraw from the place; pointing out, likewiſe, what appeared to them the ſafeſt method of retreat, and the probable aſſiſtance which might be expected from the royal ſquadron. Inſtead of executing, inſtead even of publiſhing this abſurd and cruel plan, Major Abington carefully concealed it, together with his own emotions of diſguſt and anxiety. Preſerving ſtill the appearance of ſecurity and intrepidity, he ſhewed the impoſſibility of performing their orders, without the moſt ruinous conſequences. By arguments flowing from a benevolent heart, as well as a paſſion for military glory, he pointed out the miſeries that muſt await the abandoned ſettlement, and the improbability of even eſcape to the troops. Alluding, probably, to the diſaſters of other places in ſimilar ſituations, he declared himſelf unequal to the taſk of delivering brave men up to famine or poiſon; and pathetically intreated to be releaſed from a command, which expoſed his honour to ruin, and his name to execration. He informed them, at the ſame time, that if he could be ſupplied with a ſmall reinforcement

of

of troops and warlike ſtores, he would anſwer for the ſafety of the place, and of the ſurrounding country.

His remonſtrance had the deſired effect. A packet ſoon arrived expreſs from Bombay, with intelligence of the Committee's reſolution of ſending a force, conſiſting of two battalions of ſepoys and forty artillery, with four ſix-pounders, for the relief of the ſettlement. Elated by the proſpect of ſuch aid, the Major neglected no means of improving it. While he continued ſucceſsfully his defenſive operations, he formed an admirable plan for a grand ſally and attack on Surdar Cawn's camp; and diſpatched proper inſtructions to the neighbouring potentates, in alliance with the Company, for regulating their co-operations. Of theſe, the King of Cotiote was chief, who, during the ſiege, had conſtantly ſignified his friendly intentions. The Kings of Zamorin and Travancore were alſo addreſſed; but none of theſe took any part in raiſing the ſiege.

The reinforcements being all arrived, and every proper diſpoſition made for the ſally and attack, the troops, ſixteen hundred in number, on the 8th of January, 1782, at two o'clock in the morning, were under arms, and at three marched

marched in files, by the center to the Braſs Pagoda, an important ſtation in the lines, which takes its name from a covering of braſs plates on a large and venerable Gentoo place of worſhip. Here the engineer had opened a ſpace through which the troops might march out of the lines. They halted 'till near four o'clock, that they might arrive at the enemy's camp juſt at the dawning of the day. Having blown, according to orders, the priming powder out of the pans of their guns, they marched in profound ſilence, through marſhy ground, till they turned Putney Hill, where a battery was erected that ſcoured the camp, ſituated in its rear. This the advanced party attacked and took without ſuffering the ſmalleſt loſs. At the ſame time, the main body formed the line on the ſhoulder of the hill, facing the enemy's camp, which they had evacuated in the greateſt confuſion. Surdar Cawn, their General, was diſcovered on horſeback, at ſome diſtance, leading on a party of his men. Another party, drawn together in a confuſed manner, on the extremity of Bench-Hill, adjoining to that of Putney, was gallantly diſperſed by the Lieutenants Hodges and Wheldon, with two companies of of ſepoys. The line, in the mean time, advanced through the enemy's camp, by files, in two columns. Surdar Cawn, after ſome reſiſtance,

ance, being wounded in the ankle, threw himſelf, with many of his braveſt and moſt faithful followers, into a fortified houſe, formed in the cavity of a rock, at Corichee, the manſion of his women and the repoſitory of his treaſures, determined not to ſurvive the diſgrace of a defeat, but to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. The men, in token of deſperation, looſing their hair, diſplayed colours on the houſe, with the ſound of horns and other martial muſic.

In this ſituation, that reſolute body of men waited to receive our troops, when Lieutenant Woodington, the Major of Brigade, with a part of the grenadier ſepoys, halted to attack the houſe, and, whilſt he was giving orders to his men, was wounded through both his legs with a muſket ball. The main body, under Major Abington and Captain Carpenter, ſoon came up, and, about the ſame time, a party of marines and ſepoys under Captain Pruin and Lieutenant Bute, that had been landed from the veſſels in the rear of the houſe, which was thus completely ſurrounded. This habitation, portefires being put in the guns, and fired on the thatched roof, by the contrivance of the Engineer, was ſet on fire, and the defendants, after a reſiſtance of two hours, were compelled to ſurrender or to periſh in the flames.

The ſucceſs of this day was very great. The enemy's General, and many officers of diſtinction, with upwards of 2000 men, were taken priſoners. All their guns, more than fifty in number, fell into the hands of the victors, with much ammunition, two lacks of rupees, a large collection of grain, ſeven elephants, a great deal of cordage and timber, and many horſes and draught bullocks.

But the general joy was not a little damped by the ſituation of Lieutenant Woodington, the only European officer who was wounded on this memorable occaſion, and whoſe loſs to the army, for he was a very meritorious and active officer, was greatly lamented.

When the fortified houſe, in which the unfortunate Surdar Cawn made his laſt ſtand, was ſet on fire, many of his family and other adherents, in order to avoid the flames, began to drop down from the walls, amidſt the fire of the ſepoys. Among theſe were ſeven of the fineſt women of the eaſt, who compoſed the Cawn's ſeraglio. Captain Chriſtie, who happened to paſs by the ſpot where the women threw themſelves down from the battlements of the haram, immediately ſtopt the firing, at the hazard of his life, ran up to their aſſiſtance, and received them,

them, one after another, in his arms. In the mean time, a party of ſailors belonging to the Bombay cruizers, that had co-operated with the land forces, in this attack on Surdar Cawn's laſt refuge, came up, and, for the ſake of plunder, began to tear off the womens ear-rings, while theſe unfortunate ladies, afraid of even ruder treatment, and, uncertain of their fate, endeavoured to put an end to their exiſtence. But Captain Chriſtie, partly by his authority as an officer, and partly by a ſeaſonable diſtribution of the jewels, in which the ladies cheerfully ſeconded him, was enabled, though with difficulty, to ſave them from farther violence, by reſtoring order among the ſailors. The poor women, when they found themſelves under ſecure protection, gave vent to their gratitude, in embracing the knees, and bathing the feet of their protector with tears of joy. Captain Chriſtie, accompanied by Lieutenant Hawkes of the artillery, who had come up to lend his aſſiſtance in this generous act of gallantry, immediately conducted them to the commanding officer. They were then returned, ſafe, to their lord, who had teſtified the moſt agonizing anxiety concerning their fate. When they came in his preſence, he looked ſternly in their faces, and manifeſted ſymptoms of trouble, anguiſh, and deſpair. But, after he had converſed with them

them for ſome time, his countenance ſoftened into tears of joy, and he expreſſed the ſtrongeſt emotions of gratitude for the delicate manner in which his women had been treated by the Britiſh officers. "You," ſaid he, "enjoy the "fortune of this day, and you deſerve it. Go, "therefore, to a room (which he deſcribed) in "the fortified houſe, where you will find, for "your reward, two lacks of rupees." Above twenty thouſand pounds, was, accordingly, divided among the army.

The Cawn, when he was taken, expected immediate death, enquired why it was delayed, and regarded the humanity of the Engliſh, in ſparing him, with aſtoniſhment. "If you mean," ſaid he, to the officers into whoſe hands he fell, "to ſave my life, reſtore my wives and my children."—The joy that ſprung up in his mind, on receiving this pledge of the merciful intentions of the Engliſh, was not laſting. He died, ſoon after, of grief and agony of mind, rather than any conſequence of his wound, deſiring, as the laſt favour from Major Abington, that his family might be ſent to Seringapatam. His requeſt was readily granted, and punctually performed.

In

In the courſe of that and the day following, all the enemy's poſts ſurrendered in ſucceſſion. The poſſeſſions of the victors now extended as far as Ajar to the north, and Inilanda to the ſouth. Of ſpoils they collected, altogether, one thouſand two hundred French firelocks, four braſs field-pieces, from fifty to ſixty iron guns of various calibres, thirteen elephants, a number of horſes, and a great quantity of powder, ſhot, ſhells, and other ſtores. Their loſs did not exceed nine killed, and forty-nine wounded: while, of the enemy, five hundred were killed or drowned in the Mahé river, a vaſt number wounded, and one thouſand five hundred, including many of their principal officers, ſent priſoners to Tellicherry.

For theſe ſervices, equally brilliant and important, Sir Eyre Coote, in a letter dated at Fort St. George, the 6th of February, 1782, returned his thanks to Major Abington, and the troops under his command, in the warmeſt terms.

Major Abington's views were now turned towards the ſettlement and ſecurity of his conqueſts. Remaining encamped on the field of victory, his firſt care was to reinſtate the ſeveral kings and princes, who had been forced, by the cruelties

cruelties of Surdar Cawn, to conceal themſelves and their families in woods and ſwamps, for near three years. The only prince on the Malabar coaſt who had eſcaped oppreſſion and violence was the King of Travancore.—His means of defence were extraordinary and romantic. Around his capital, and chief province, he ſuffered the woods to grow for a number of years, 'till they formed an impenetrable belt of great depth. This, cut into labyrinths, afforded easy egreſs to his people, and rendered all attacks from without impracticable. Immured within this natural fortification, he encouraged the cultivation of arts and ſciences; he invited the approach of men of genius and knowledge; he cultivated the friendſhip of the Bramins, and was himſelf admitted into their ſociety, by the ceremony of paſſing through a golden cow, which became the property of the Bramins, the cow being ſacred in India, as formerly in Egypt; and by preparing his own military ſtores, caſting cannon, making gun-powder, &c. he rendered himſelf independent of foreign aid. The ſubjects of his remoter provinces, who, to avoid the ravages of war, had taken refuge within the woody circle, now returned, with their families and effects, to their former habitations.

The

The Kings of Cotiote and Cartinad, with the Nambiers of Invanard, were, on various conditions, reſtored to their ſovereignties and poſſeſſions. To have ſeized on thoſe countries, and annexed them to the other conqueſts of the Company, would have been partly unjuſt, and was in fact impoſſible.---The views of Major Abingdon, therefore, in reſtoring them, were ſolid and juſt; for they pointed to the eſtabliſhment of peace on a permanent baſis, by conciliating the minds of the princes and people, and ſecuring their aſſiſtance on any future emergencies.

In ſuch tranſactions, and in demoliſhing the enemy's works, ſending off their ſtores, and planting proper guards at the forts, the Major was employed 'till the 3d of February; when, having ſettled every thing in the beſt manner that circumſtances would permit, he marched towards Callicut. Before that fort he arrived on the morning of the 12th, and took poſt within two hundred yards of the walls. Next day he had the good fortune to blow up, by a ſhell, part of the grand magazine, which ſo totally expoſed the garriſon to an aſſault, that they immediately ſurrendered. Upwards of ſixty iron guns, mounted, were found in the fort, with great quantities of

military ſtores: ſeveral ſmall and large veſſels lying in different rivers with naval ſtores, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Colonel Humberſtone arriving ſoon after at Callicut, claimed the command of the army, as being ſenior officer to Major Abington: which leads us back to that military and naval force, originally intended for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, which ſailed from England in 1781.

In the beginning of 1780, a ſecret expedition was ſubmitted to his Majeſty's Cabinet-Miniſters, the original object of which was generally ſuppoſed to be ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements in South America: though, on the breaking out of the Dutch war, its deſtination was changed to another quarter. Two new regiments of one thouſand men each, viz. the 98th and the 100th, were compleated in January, 1781, by Mr. William Fullarton, the author of the plan, the repreſentative of an antient family of that name in Airſhire, and Mr. Mackenzie Humberſtone, a young gentleman, of great hopes, of the family of Seaforth.——Theſe gentlemen, who had been at a great expence in raiſing and diſciplining their regiments, were allowed the rank

of

of Lieutenant Colonel, during the time of the war only. To the troops under Mackenzie and Fullarton were added the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment, commaded by Lieutenant Colonel Macleod, Chief of that name and clan, and long poſſeſſed of a large property in the Iſle of Sky, one of the iſlands on the weſtern coaſt of Scotland; four companies from other regiments, commanded by Major Robert Douglas, with a detachment of royal artillery, under Lieutenant Hiſlop. The whole of this force was to be headed by Major-General William Meadows, an officer of approved abilities. The fleet which carried it from Spithead in March, 1781, was commanded by Commodore Johnſtone, an officer who poſſeſſed the reputation of great activity and intrepid courage. It conſiſted of two ſhips of the line, three of 50 guns, three frigates of 32 guns, two ſloops of war, two cutters, the *Infernal* fire-ſhip, and the *Terror* bomb-ketch, two ordnance ſtore-ſhips, ſeven armed tranſports, with coppered bottoms, four hired uncoppered tranſports, five victuallers, and thirteen Indiamen: the whole making forty-five ſail, replete with troops, and ſtores of every kind for a long voyage, and 10,000 ſtand of arms. This fleet anchored in Praya Bay, in the Iſland of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verds, on the 10th of April. On the 16th, at eight in the morning, the Iſis,

being the ſhip that was ſtationed the furtheſt out at ſea, made a ſignal that there was a ſtrange fleet in ſight. All officers were immediately ordered to repair on board; and about nine, a fleet of fifteen ſail being now in view, a ſignal was made to clear the ſhips for action. The ſtrange fleet now ſeparated into two diviſions: one of ten, the other of five ſhips. The firſt was a convoy; the laſt, ſhips of war. At half paſt nine, the headmoſt of theſe entered the Bay, under French colours, the other four following in a line a-head. It was the French fleet under the command of the celebrated Suffrein. He loſt not a moment to begin a furious attack on the Engliſh, who had reſerved their fire, from a notion that the French Admiral would not, by committing hoſtilities in a neutral port, violate the laws of nations. The Britiſh fleet, though ſcarcely yet clear for action, and with ſeven hundred of their beſt ſeamen on ſhore, opened on the enemy, and returned their fire with equal vigour. The action was continued with great heat about an hour, when the French Commander gave the ſignal for his fleet to bear away, and purſue their deſtination. It was paſt three o'clock, afternoon, before our ſquadron ſlipt their cables to go in purſuit of them; though they had ſeized and carried off the Infernal fire-ſhip, and the Hinchinbrook Indiaman,

as

as well as taken one of their own diſabled ſhips in tow, and given orders to one of our victuallers, that they had manned, to follow, which ſhe was doing. They came abreaſt with the enemy, by the time the ſun was going down, about ſix o'clock. Though our Commodore was to the windward of the French, he did not bring them to an action. He kept abreaſt of them till midnight: but in the morning not one of them was to be ſeen. The three ſhips ſeized by the French found means to make their eſcape, and came ſafely into the Bay of Praya ſome days after.

On the 1ſt day of May, our fleet, being now nearly refitted, was ordered to unmoor, and, the next morning, to weigh anchor. About four o'clock afternoon, the whole fleet was under ſail. The north-eaſt trade-wind carried them within thirty degrees of the line; after which another trade-wind brought them to the Iſland of Trinidada, a romantic but deſolate iſland, claimed by the Portugueze as the firſt diſcoverers, oppoſite to the coaſt of South America. They lay in ſight of that iſland for two days. Hitherto, both our officers and men were ignorant of their deſtination: but now, the fleet proceeded in a ſouth-eaſterly courſe, avowedly for the Cape of Good Hope. The troops being removed, on the 19th of June, out of eight

Indiamen, and crouded into the other ſhips of the fleet, thoſe Indiamen purſued their voyage: and one Indiaman having parted from our ſquadron on the 25th of May, for St. Helen's, there remained now only four out of the thirteen which ſailed from Spithead, namely, the Oſterley, Latham, Locko, and Valentine. A Dutch prize was brought into our fleet on the 1ſt of July, by ſome of our frigates. The Dutchmen being outward-bound, had on board 60,cool. in bullion: but, what was of greater conſequence to our fleet, now within ſixty-five leagues of the Cape, the packet which it carried, contained information of conſiderable importance to the attainment of their chief object. Suffrein, with his ſhips of war, a frigate, and one or two of his tranſports, had arrived in Falſe Bay. The guns and men of the diſabled ſhip of war, called the Hannibal, which he had dragged along with the reſt of his ſquadron under jury maſts, were landed, and placed in ſtrong batteries erected on purpoſe for receiving them. In the Bay of Saldannah, from twenty to twenty-five leagues diſtant, five homeward-bound Dutch Indiamen had taken ſhelter, and, as ſoon as they ſhould be informed that the Engliſh were arrived off the Cape, they were to ſlip out, and ſail directly for Europe. In conſequence of this intelligence, the fleet lay to, the night of the 9th,

and

and all the 10th, in order to deliberate what was beſt to be done. On the 21ſt, about ten in the forenoon, they entered Saldannah Bay, where they took, almoſt without reſiſtance, the five ſhips of which they had received ſuch exact intelligence, with two of ſmaller value. The whole were eſtimated conſiderably above 800 000l. but one of them was burnt by her crew, and two of them unfortunately loſt in their paſſage to England. On the 26th, the prizes, with ſome tranſports, and on the 28th, Commodore Johnſtone, with all the ſhips of war, excepting four, having previouſly conducted what remained of the fleet, paſſed Table Land and Falſe Bay. The General, while our fleet lay yet in Saldannah Bay, demanded of the Commodore in public, becauſe he found it a very difficult matter to obtain an official anſwer from that impracticable man on any ſubject, whether he would land him and his ſoldiers in Table Bay. The Commodore replied in the affirmative; but added, that he would not ſtay a moment to aid him, in caſe of diſcomfiture.

The ſame packet which fortunately directed Commodore Johnſtone to Saldannah Bay, determined General Meadows, after the Commodore's anſwer, to go onward to India. For he had gleaned from ſundry Dutch letters, ſome

intelligence, though imperfect, of the war with Hyder-Ally, the exciſion or capture of Colonel Baillie's army, and the diſtreſs of the Engliſh ſettlements in that part of the world. Our reduced fleet now conſiſted of the Hero, Monmouth, and his ſhips of war, the copperd tranſports, the two ordnance ſtore-ſhips, and four Indiamen: the whole under the command of Captain James Alms, of the Monmouth. The Active frigate was ſent forward to India with diſpatches. The Prince of Ternate, with his three ſons, and the Prince of Tidore, with his only ſon, who were relieved from bondage with the Dutch at Saldannah, were taken on board the Hero, to be reſtored to their friends and the poſſeſſion of their territories. The firſt of theſe unfortunate families had been brought priſoners to the Cape ſix years before, and the laſt had been there three years. It was the intention of the Dutch to have ſent thoſe captives, whoſe only crime, was, their oppoſition to the tyranny of their oppreſſors, to Europe, in the ſame ſhips that were ſeized by our ſquadron at Saldannah.

Commodore Alms, with all the ſhips under his command, anchored ſafely in the Bay of Zamooda, off the watering place in Johanna, the chief of the Comorrah Iſlands, ſituated between

tween Madagaſcar and the coaſt of Africa, on Sunday the 2d of September, 1781. Here he landed all his ſick men, conſiſting of one third of the fleet and army. They were afflicted chiefly with the ſcurvy: but not a few with dyſenteries and ulcers. The greateſt part of all our invalids recovered, during the twenty-two days they remained in that delightful place.

On the 24th of September, our fleet, ſetting ſail from Johanna, purſued their deſtination. After a calm which laſted from the 11th of October to the 5th of November, the ſhifting of the monſoon obliged them, though only two hundred and ſixty leagues from Bombay, to ſteer in a north-eaſterly courſe, which brought them within ſight of the land of Arabia Felix on the 15th. They beat off the Arabian coaſt, endeavouring to work up to the eaſtward, but without ſucceſs, till the 26th, when they ſtood in, and anchored in Morabat Bay. The Indiamen, having taken the 42d regiment on board, out of the tranſports, fell to leeward with the current, and were obliged to go into Kiſſin Bay, diſtant about twenty leagues, from whence they afterward joined the fleet.

The ſhips of war, the Monmouth, Hero, Iſis, and the Manilla, with the Royal Charlotte and Raikes,

Raikes, having on board the 98th regiment, proceeded, on the 6th of December, to join Admiral Hughes; leaving the 42d and 100th regiments, and four additional companies, in the coppered tranſports and Indiamen; and the conduct of the convoy was given to Captain Smith of the San Carlos: but the Charlotte and Raikes, having each ſprung a top-maſt, were obliged to put back and join the tranſports and Indiamen in Morabat Bay. General Meadows and Colonel Fullarton were on board the ſhips of war. Colonel Mackenzie Humberſtone was left to command the troops in the tranſports, with thoſe that had joined them in the Raikes and Royal Charlotte. The men of war joined our ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven double decked ſhips and a frigate, in the roads of Madras, on the 12th of October, 1782. Colonel Humberſtone's ſquadron, conſiſting of thirteen ſail, inclusive of a Portugueze ſhip, which furniſhed them with wines, left Morabat on the 9th of December, 1781, and arrived at Bombay on the morning of the 22d of January, the year following.

The junction of the four ſhips of war, with the ſquadron under Sir Edward Hughes, at this time, was moſt fortunate. For, on the 13th of February, 1782, a French armament, of thirteen

ſhips

ſhips of the line, with a number of frigates and tranſports, under the command of that great naval officer Monſieur de Suffrein, hove in ſight, reconnoitred Madras, and anchored a few miles to the windward of the Engliſh Admiral. Upon the 14th, Suffrein paſſed Madras, in line of battle to the ſouthward. Towards the evening of that day, Sir Edward Hughes, having received on board the 98th regiment, weighed anchor and ſtood after him. On the 15th the fleets met, and a partial action commenced. Night parted them: but, in the morning, the enemy's ſhips of war, to the number of twelve of the line of battle, with a frigate, appeared in view, bearing eaſt of the Engliſh fleet, at the diſtance of four leagues, while ſixteen ſail of their frigates and tranſports, about the diſtance of three to the weſt, ſteered directly for Pondicherry. Our Admiral, on this, inſtantly made the ſignal for a general chace to the ſouth-weſt, in order, if poſſible, to come up with the tranſports. Six of the enemy's ſhips and veſſels, accordingly, fell into our hands, five of which were Engliſh, taken to the northward of Madras: the ſixth was the Lauriſton, a tranſport, having on board many French officers, three hundred men of the regiment of Lauzun, and laden with all kinds of ammunition. This ſhip was taken by Captain Lumley of the Iſis. The other veſſels, after the Frenchmen

men were taken out of them, were ſent with their own crews to Negapatnam.

Monſieur de Suffrein, having diſcovered the intention of the Engliſh Admiral to chace and take his tranſports, loſt not a moment to make all the ſail after him that was in his power. A hot engagement took place on the 17th, in which the French Admiral, having the advantage of ſqualls from the N.N.E. advanced on the rear of our line, in an irregular double line a-breaſt, with great celerity. Sir Edward Hughes, in order to draw the rear of his line cloſer to the center, and to prevent the enemy from breaking in, and attacking it when ſeparated, at half paſt noon, made the ſignal for our ſquadron to form the line of battle a-breaſt. At three in the afternoon, the enemy ſtill puſhing onward to our rear in a double line a-breaſt, the Admiral again altered his courſe in the line, in order to draw his rear ſhips ſtill cloſer to the center: but, at forty minutes after three, finding it impoſſible to avoid the enemy's attack, under all the diſadvantages of very little wind and a leeward ſtation, he made the ſignal to form at once into the line of battle a-head. At four, the Exeter, the ſternmoſt ſhip in our rear, when formed in line of battle a-head on the larboard tack, not being quite cloſed to her ſecond a-head, three of

of the enemy's ſhips in the firſt line, headed by Suffrein himſelf in the Hero, moved along the outſide of the firſt line to our center, which was formed by Sir Edward Hughes, on board the Superbe. The other French ſhips, too, of the ſecond line, advanced as far as the Superbe, but no farther. Thus, eight of the enemy's beſt ſhips were engaged in an attack on five of ours. The van of our fleet, conſiſting of the Monmouth, Eagle, Burford, and Worceſter, could neither be brought into the engagement, without tacking on the enemy, nor tack on the enemy for want of wind. The five ſhips of our center and rear, thus cut off from the van, ſorely preſſed by the enemy, and greatly diſabled in their maſts, yards, ſails, and rigging, could not follow the other four without the utmoſt hazard of entire ſeparation. But, at ſix in the afternoon, a ſquall of wind from the ſouth-eaſt, brought the van of our line round, and a-head on the enemy to the north-eaſt, when the engagement was renewed by the ſtarboard guns of our other five ſhips, with great ſpirit and alacrity. The approach of night parted the two fleets: the French hauled their wind, and ſtood to north-eaſt: the Engliſh ſailed with a favourable wind for Trincomalée, to repair the damages ſuſtained in this engagement. Captain Reynolds

of

of the Exeter was killed, and Captain Stevens of the Superbe died of his wounds.

Monſieur de Suffrein came to anchor in the neighbourhood of Porto Novo, where, in conſequence of the alliance between his nation and Hyder, he landed three thouſand four hundred men: the firſt diviſion of that force, which, under the command of the Marquis de Buſſy, was intended to ſubvert the Engliſh power in India. The fort of Cuddalore, weakly garriſoned, immediately became a place of arms and of comfort to the French troops. Sir Edward Hughes, having effected the neceſſary repairs, ſailed from Trincomalée on the 4th of March, and on the 12th arrived at Madras.

Towards the end of March, intelligence arrived that Monſieur Suffrein had ſuddenly ſlipped from Porto Novo, and put to ſea.—He had learned from a foreign veſſel that an Engliſh fleet was upon the coaſt, and it became, of courſe, his object to intercept it. But Sir Edward Hughes immediately got under way, and in ſight of the flag-ſtaff of Fort St. George fell in with the fleet of which the French was in purſuit, conſiſting of ſeven Indiamen, with the 78th regiment on board, eight hundred brave

High

Highlanders, under convoy of two line of battle ſhips, the Magnanime and the Sultan. He ordered the men of war to join him, recruited himſelf from the merchant ſhips, and ſtood directly for Trincomalée, there to land a reinforcement, and military ſtores for the garriſon. Sir Edward prudently ſtudied to decline an engagement, till he ſhould land the troops and ſtores. It was the buſineſs of Suffrein, on the other hand, to court an action: he was upon an enemy's coaſt, without any harbour near, where he might ſhelter and repair his ſhips: and he was engaged in a daring enterprize, which required both ability and prompt execution.

The Engliſh and French Admirals, purſuing their reſpective views, on the 12th of April, braced up to the wind, which blew from the land on the weſt. Sir Edward Hughes had gained the weather-gage of the enemy, and had reaſon to look with conſiderable aſſurance for the accompliſhment of his object, when ſuddenly the wind changed to the eaſt, leaving the Engliſh fleet ſo alarmingly cloſe to the banks that lay near to Jaffanapatam, that one of the ſhips actually felt the ground. Suffrein ſaw his advantage, bore down, and began the battle. The number of guns, on both ſides, was nearly equal:

equal: but the French fleet was full of [illegible] while the Engliſh was ſhort of its complement, and ſickly. The action was broken off by the darkneſs of the night. The nature or character of this ſea-fight may be learned from this circumſtance, that for ſeven days the fleets lay within random ſhot, without attempting any attack, or giving the leaſt moleſtation to each other. Monſieur Suffrein, who was enabled by the number of his hands to bring his ſhips firſt into order, after making a parade of offering battle, ſailed, for the purpoſe of complete repairs, to Batacalo, in the iſland of Ceylon. Sir Edward Hughes, for the ſame purpoſe, entered the harbour of Trincomalée.

The Engliſh army had now remained a conſiderable time at the Mount: when, on the 17th of April, it was put in motion for the relief of Parmacoil. But the General, on his arrival at Carangooly, was informed that Parmacoil had ſurrendered on terms, on May the 16th. On the 24th, the army encamped at Vandewaſh. The general orders of this day, for the purpoſe of confirming the courage of our men, looked back to the victory obtained by Sir Eyre Coote over the unfortunate French General, Count Lally, in 1760. The camp was pitched on the ſpot where that victory was obtained, and an extraordinary

dinary batta was iſſued out to the troops. But, on the following morning, it was found neceſſary, on account of water, to remove the camp to the oppoſite ſide of the fort.

Hyder-Ally lay encamped in a ſtrong poſt on the Red Hills, near Parmacoil, from which various movements of the Engliſh General aimed to draw him, in vain. But the magazines of Hyder being depoſited in the ſtrong fort of Arnée, Sir Eyre Coote conceived that a march towards that place, might induce the enemy, for the ſafety of his ſtores, to hazard an engagement. The General, therefore, turning his back on Parmacoil, and leaving his laſt ground fifteen miles in the rear, encamped at Deſore. A ſummons was ſent, on the 31ſt, to the fort of Chittaput, to ſurrender to the arms of the Engliſh: to which the Keeladar, encouraged by the nearneſs of Hyder, in terms of great haughtineſs, bade defiance. Our army, therefore, paſſed this place on the 1ſt of June, and encamped on the weſt and ſouth ſide of the river, with an opening of three miles between them and the fortreſs of Arnée. Hyder, as ſoon as he received intelligence that Sir Eyre Coote had ſtruck into the road leading to Chittaput and Arnée, immediately marched after him, and coming over a ſpace of forty-three miles in

two days, took up his head quarters in Chittaput, on the evening of the ſame day in which our troops ſat down in the encampment juſt deſcribed.

Although Hyder, when he has an object in view that requires expedition, obſerves not any order of march, and the whole country appears to be in motion, yet, his innumerable bodies of horſe guard him againſt ſurprize, and enable him, before ſuch an army as ours can ſtrike any blow of importance, to form his troops in order of battle. It may, perhaps, at the ſame time, afford ſome meaſure of gratification to European curioſity, to be informed, that the undiſciplined troops of Aſia, generally inflamed with bang and other intoxicating drugs, pour forth as they advance, a torrent of menacing and abuſive language on their adverſaries. Every expreſſion of contempt and averſion, every threat, fitted to make an impreſſion of terror, or to excite ideas of horror, that cuſtom readily preſents, or inventive fancy can ſuggeſt, accompanies the utmoſt ferocity of looks, voice, and geſture. A murmuring ſound, with clouds of duſt, announce their approach, while they are yet at the diſtance of ſeveral miles. As they advance, their accents are more and more diſtinctly heard, until at laſt, with their eyes fixed, and weapons

weapons pointed at ſome individual, they devote him, with many execrations, to deſtruction; giving his fleſh, like the heroes in Homer, and the Philiſtine warriors, * to the dogs, and the birds of the air, and the beaſts of the field. The numbers of the Aſiatic armies, the ferocity of their manner, and the novelty of their appearance, would unnerve and overcome the hearts of the ſmall European bodies that are oppoſed to them in the field of battle, if experience had not ſufficiently proved, how much the ſilence of diſcipline excels barbarian noiſe, and uniformity of deſign and action, the deſultory efforts of brutal force, acting by ſtarts, and liable to the contagion of accidental impreſſion.

Sir Eyre Coote, on the 2d of June, with his eye fixed on Hyder's valuable depoſits at Arnée, began to move towards that important place before break of day. But no ſooner had the approach of the ſun enlightened the horizon, than a heavy cannonade, of eighteen and twenty-four pounders, was opened on our rear, and fell very near it. Our army came twice to the right about, and the baggage was brought twice thro' the files, before it was found poſſible to aſcertain the quarter from whence the enemy's fire proceeded. The General called a conſultation

* 1 Samuel, xvii, 44.

of his officers, and encouraged them to deliver their ſentiments concerning the preſent ſituation of affairs, without reſerve. Some were of opinion that the enemy's horſe would charge in ſquadron: others agreed, in part, with this opinion; but added, that, after the baggage ſhould be thrown into confuſion, they would probably come round by a rapid wheel, and charge our troops in the rear. The reports that continued to be made from that quarter, having inconteſtibly proved that it was here that the enemy deſigned to make their principal attack, the General, without farther deliberation, brought about the line, and drew it up in order to receive them. But no ſooner were our troops formed to the rear, than a diviſion of the enemy, commanded by Tippoo Saib, moved rapidly to Arnée, carried away the treaſure, gave orders to the Commandant, and reinforced the garriſon. The enemy, in the mean time, occupied all the circumjacent grounds; and their cavalry, galloping to and fro in every direction, harraſſed the Engliſh, who poſſeſſed a low ſituation, and galled them not a little, while they were forming to the rear in order of battle. The General made ſuch diſpoſitions as might beſt remedy the diſadvantage of his ground, and advancing againſt the enemy, endeavoured to bring them to a cloſe and deciſive engagement. But, as he ad-

advanced, Hyder ſhrunk back, and left the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of the ſcene of action. The inſtant our troops were ordered to relinquiſh the purſuit, and halt on the field of victory, a gun, with ſome tumbrils, was obſerved, oppoſite to the 73d regiment, ſticking faſt in the bed of the Arnée river, and a party of the enemy labouring to draw them out. The Honourable Captain Lindſey, againſt poſitive orders, as well as the rules of war, advanced with his grenadier company beyond the line, chaced away the enemy's party, and ſeized the gun and tumbrils, the poſſeſſion of which converted the General's diſpleaſure into commendation. When Captain Lindſey advanced, the other companies of his regiment followed, in order to ſupport him, and were drawn up in one battalion, under that ſteady veteran Captain Shaw, on the oppoſite banks of the river. This victory, if it may be called a victory, was obtained at the inconſiderable expence of ſixty ſepoys killed and wounded. The enemy, it was conjectured, did not loſe above half that number.

As we were unprovided with battering cannon, ſcaling ladders were made of green bamboos, and a ſummons was ſent to the Keeladar of Arnée to ſurrender: but as neither the anſwer of that Commander, nor the ſituation of the fort

afforded any hopes that it might be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs, our army, on the 6th of June, marched towards Madras. Having croſſed and recroſſed the courſe of the Arnée, they encamped, on the 7th, on the ſame ſide of the river from which they ſet out. While they lay in camp on the 8th, the enemy, from a military knowledge of the ground, than which there is no circumſtance that is oftener improved by a ſkilful Commander into happy projects, drew out our grand guard, conſiſting of a regiment of European cavalry, into an ambuſcade, where they were either cut off by an open and heavy fire in their front, or taken priſoners by a numerous party of horſe that came ſuddenly between the main army and their rear. The Engliſh General returned, on the 9th of June, to Vandewaſh, where, after a fruitleſs attempt to retaliate the loſs of the preceding day, by ſnares ſimilar to thoſe through which it was occaſioned, proceeded on his march, and on the 20th arrived at Madras.

In theſe ſtratagems and encounters, the laſt in which Sir Eyre Coote and Hyder-Ally-Cawn were deſtined to meaſure their ſtrength in the field, we behold the conduct of the Commanders, and the whole character of the war. The Engliſh General oppoſing to numbers, artifices, and

and local advantages, the diſciplined valour of his little army, according to the plaineſt and moſt approved rules of war, and, without expoſing his troops to too great hazards, conſtantly endeavouring to reduce the various movements and feints of his antagoniſt to a point, where he could bear upon him with his whole ſtrength at once, and bring him to a cloſe and deciſive action: the Aſiatic politician and warrior, availing himſelf of preſent and vaſt reſources, eluding regular and compacted force, by ſtratagems the moſt various and profound, and declining to commit to the fortune of a ſingle day, what would be enſured by a ſeries of conjunctures rightly improved, by diſtance of ſpace which might deprive his adverſary of ſupplies in the moment of exigency, and by the very lapſe of time, which, transferring the arts of the refined to the rude, levels in its progreſs the condition of nations.

Sir Eyre Coote, in Fort St. George, after the toils of the field, had the ſatisfaction of reflecting, that he had marched and countermarched, in ſpite of all oppoſition, whitherſoever he would, carried relief to the diſtreſſed, beaten back the enemy in every battle, and done every thing but bring him to a deciſive engagement. Hyder-Ally, repoſing in the fortreſs of Arnée, preſerved by his arms, re-

joiced that he had been able to avoid a deciſive action; that he was ſtill in a condition to preſent a front to the foe; that the wounds he had given to the Engliſh were deeper than any they had inflicted on his army; and that, while he thus maintained his ground in the Carnatic, and braved with advantage a power deemed irreſiſtible, he might reaſonably hope, that in proportion as the preſſure of terror, which alone kept the native princes under awe and ſubjec. jection to the Europeans, ſhould be removed, they would gradually be united in a determined reſolution to expel them, without exception, from the coaſts of India.

The war with the Mahrattas, conducted under the immediate auſpices of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, was attended with more brilliant ſucceſs, and, by this time, brought to a ſafe iſſue. The departure of Mr. Francis from India, towards the cloſe of 1780, emancipating Mr. Haſtings from the ſhackles of oppoſition and intrigue, left him at liberty to carry on the war againſt the Mahrattas, who had rejected the offer that had been made of peace, with the utmoſt vigour. Lieutenant Colonel, then Major Popham, remained with a garriſon in Gualior: and Lieut. Colonel Camac was ordered to advance, at the head of five battalions of

of ſepoys, to Ugein, the capital of Madajee Scindiah. This movement was attended with all thoſe beneficial conſequences which Mr. Haſtings had predicted. Scindiah, who was the General of the Mahratta army, and oppoſed General Goddard in Guzzarat, at the head of ſixty thouſand horſe, ſuddenly quitted the Mahratta camp, for the defence of his own country. He advanced to Seronge in the month of February, 1781, ſurrounded Colonel Camac with large bodies of cavalry, interrupted his ſupplies, and reduced him to the greateſt diſtreſs. In this ſituation, the Colonel wrote in the moſt preſſing terms for reinforcements to Major Popham, and alſo to Colonel Muir and Colonel Morgan, who commanded our troops on the borders of Corah and in Oude; recommending, at the ſame time, that a diverſion ſhould be made in his favour from Calpee. Meaſures were immediately taken for the ſupport of Colonel Camac, but he had the good fortune to extricate himſelf from all his difficulties before the reinforcements arrived to his aſſiſtance. He called a council of war on the 23d of March, in which it was propoſed by Captain Bruce, who commanded the ſtorming party at Gualior, to attack Scindiah's camp that night, as the only poſſible means of preſerving the army. This advice, moſt ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by Major Maclary, a gentleman now

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in England, was, after ſome debate and conſideration, adopted by the Colonel. At ſun-ſet, on the 24th, the army moved from their ground, and, after a march of thirteen hours, effectually ſurpriſed the two camps of Madajee Scindiah, made themſelves maſters of all his artillery, took his ſtandard elephant, a number of camels and bullocks, and a prodigious quantity of proviſions.

This action was deciſive of the Mahratta war. Colonel Muir, who, in conſequence of Colonel Camac's letter from Seronge, had been detached acroſs the Jumna, had advanced as far as the Ranah of Gohud's country, to his aſſiſtance, joined the army with his reinforcement the month following, and being the ſenior officer, ſucceeded to the general command. The Governor-General could not remove Colonel Muir, who was one of the beſt officers in their ſervice, from a command to which Lieut. Colonel Camac had expreſsly called him. In the month of Auguſt, 1781, Scindiah made overtures of peace. A negotiation was opened for that purpoſe, and a treaty concluded with that Chief in the month of October, 1781. A total ceſſation of hoſtilities with the Mahratta ſtates was the immediate conſequence of the ſeparate peace with Madajee; and a general pacification was ſigned in May,

1782.

1782. Thus did that expedition, on the ſucceſs of which Mr. Haſtings, when he propoſed it, had declared he would riſk his life, terminate preciſely as the Governor-General predicted: and, in the year 1782, of all the confederacy that had been formed againſt us, two members only continued hoſtile, Hyder-Ally-Cawn and the French. Madjee Booſlah had been bought off by a ſum of money: and the Nizam confiding, or pretending to confide in our promiſes, according to his uſual policy, continued inactive. To the honour of the troops employed againſt Scindiah, it is proper to mention, that they were five months in arrears during all the ſervice.

It was for this reaſon, and becauſe the treaſury of Bengal was totally inadequate to the continued and increaſing demands of an hundred thouſand men under arms, in the ſervice of Great Britain in different parts of India, that the Governor-General determined, in the month of Auguſt, 1781, to demand from the Nabob Vizier of Oude, the balance due to the Company; and from the Rajah Cheyt Sing, a Zemindar who rented, under the Engliſh Company, the rich city and dependencies of Benaras, together with ſuch farther contributions as the neceſſities of war rendered cuſtomary in the eaſt, from vaſſals to lords paramount, and from

from a ſubject to his ſovereign. The Princeſſes of Oude, the mother and grandmother of the Nabob Aſoph-ul-Dowlah, together with immenſe treaſures, poſſeſſed a conſiderable force, and not a ſmall ſhare of the authority of government.—The Rajah Cheyt Sing, from his father Bulwant Sing, who derived whatever degree of independency he poſſeſſed, during the latter period of his life, from the protection and intervention of our Government, inherited a vaſt maſs of wealth, which he ſecured in the two ſtrong fortreſſes of Bidjey Gur and Lutteefpoor. But, if common fame made juſt reports, neither the Begums of Oude, nor the Rajah of Benaras, were friends to the Engliſh. Hoſtile intentions, it was every where ſaid, were manifeſted by overt actions: inſolent treatment of the Engliſh, correſpondence with the powers who were, or might eventually become our enemies, the collection of ſtores, and other acts of military preparation. The general ſtate and temper of the country, and particularly the evaſions by which Cheyt Sing ſought to with-hold the ſubſidies which our Government had demanded and he had promiſed, rendered theſe reports not incredible to a mind, anxious, like that of Mr. Haſtings, for the public ſafety, which hung in ſuſpence on his deciſions. In ſuch circumſtances as theſe, the Governor-General determined to

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ſeize, in good time, an engine that might be turned againſt himſelf, and to anticipate any farther inſtances of hoſtility, which muſt involve in their progreſs, either the ruin of the princes from whom they proceeded, or that of the power againſt which they were pointed.

When Sir Eyre Coote was about to embark, in October, 1780, for the coaſt of Coromandel, and there was a very great degree of probability that Bengal would be invaded by the Mahrattas, the plan adopted by the Government for the protection of Bengal and its dependencies from the attacks of our enemies, was, to put the troops of the native princes, connected with our nation, either by the ties of alliance or allegiance, under the diſcipline and the command of Britiſh officers. As a part of the ſyſtem of defence, it was unanimouſly reſolved in Council, that a part of Cheyt Sing's cavalry ſhould be put under our orders.

The Rajah did not diſpute the right of his ſovereign to demand military aid, according to oriental cuſtom, but he ſought to evade compliance on pretence of poverty: and his excuſes and delays to pay his promiſed ſubſidy, there was reaſon to believe, were dictated by the doubts he had been taught to entertain through

through the intrigues, and even poſitive declarations of Mr. Francis, concerning the ſtability of that authority by which it had been impoſed. His repeated inſtances of contumacy and diſobedience, though unjuſtifiable in themſelves, and aggravated by the extreme diſtreſſes and dangers of the ſuperior ſtate, appeared to the Governor-General of leſs conſideration, on account of their own criminality, than as they were evidences of a deliberate and ſyſtematic conduct, aiming at the total ſubverſion of the authority of the Company, and the erection of his own independency on its ruins. He conſidered Cheyt Sing as culpable in a very high degree, towards our ſtate, and his puniſhment, of which he had given him frequent warnings if he did not amend his conduct, as an example which juſtice and policy required, equally for the reparation of the wrongs which its dignity had ſuſtained, and for the future preſervation of its authority. He ſaw a political neceſſity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of the Company's dominion, and rendering it ſubſervient to their preſent exigencies. Theſe are the reaſons urged by Mr. Haſtings in his narrative of the inſurrection at Benaras, in a ſtream of eloquence that rarely, if it ever flows, at once with ſuch tranſparency and ſuch force, where

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the concluſions of the underſtanding derive not an impetus from the emotions of the heart.

The Governor-General, with a view to raiſe ſupplies for maintaining the war, and in the hopes of being able to effect ſome interviews that might lead to peace, ſet out from Calcutta on the 7th of July, 1781, with an intention to proceed to Lucknow, the principal reſidence of the Royal Family of Oude. He arrived at Benaras on the morning of the 14th of Auguſt, whither alſo Cheyt Sing came to meet him ſome hours later. The Governor-General forbad the Rajah to come that evening to his quarters, as he had intended; and required him to defer his future viſits, until he ſhould receive his permiſſion, as he had ſome previous matters to ſettle with him, of which he would be informed by the Reſident, whom he would depute to him, next morning, for that purpoſe. Mr. Markham, accordingly, carried a paper to the Rajah, in which Mr. Haſtings recapitulated the ſeveral inſtances of his conduct, which had repeatedly drawn on himſelf the ſevere reprehenſions of Government, and demanded a clear and ſatisfactory explanation. He charged him, not only with ſhifts and delays in the payment of a ſum of money, deſtined for diſcharging the arrears due to the army that had marched towards

Malva,

Malva, but alſo with diſaffection and infidelity to the Company, the patrons on whom he depended, and with endeavours to excite diſorders in their Government. The anſwers of the Rajah, couched nearly in terms of defiance, Mr. Haſtings conſidered as an indication of that ſpirit of independency which the Rajah had aſſumed for ſome years paſt. He, therefore, ordered the Reſident, early in the morning of Auguſt 16, with his uſual guard, to proceed, to the houſe of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, and put him in arreſt. The humbled Rajah, in two letters addreſſed to the Governor-General, profeſſed entire ſubmiſſion to his will, in the language of deſpondent ſupplication. The Governor-General having now brought the refractory Rajah to a proper temper, he deſired him, in a ſhort note, to ſet his mind at reſt, and aſſured him of his protection.

In the mean time, large bodies of men in arms, had croſſed the river from Ramnagur, and proceeded to Shewallah-Gur, Cheyt Sing's houſe. The guard placed over the Rajah, conſiſted of two companies of grenadier ſepoys, from Major Popham's detachment, ſtationed in an enclofed ſquare which ſurrounded the prince's apartments in the palace. But, it appeared, that

that theſe troops were unprovided with ammunition. Major Popham, therefore, ſent another company of ſepoys with ammunition, to reinforce and ſupport the firſt party. But, on their arrival at the Rajah's houſe, they found all the avenues blockaded by a multitude of armed men. The minds of this tumultuous aſſembly, fermented into rage by a reciprocation of ſentiments and paſſions, and daring from their numbers, made a ſudden attack on the ſepoys, who, wanting their accuſtomed means of defence, fell an eaſy ſacrifice to the ſuperior numbers of their aſſailants. The officers, it is ſuppoſed, were the firſt victims to their fury; but not until they had, by aſtoniſhing efforts of bravery, involved in their fate far greater numbers of their enemies.

In the midſt of this confuſion, Cheyt Sing found means to eſcape through a wicket that opened to the river; and the banks being exceedingly ſteep in that place, he was let down by turbans tied together into a boat, which conveyed him to the oppoſite ſhore. His adherents followed him acroſs the river in the ſame tumultuous manner in which they had aſſembled, leaving the party of our ſepoys which had laſt arrived in poſſeſſion of the houſe. But if, inſtead of crouding after the Rajah, they had pro-

ceeded to Mahadow Daſs's garden, the reſidence at that critical hour of Mr. Haſtings, the blood of the Governor-General, with that of about thirty Engliſh gentlemen of his party, would have been added to the recent carnage, and the Britiſh empire in India would have ceaſed from that moment to exiſt: For every ſtate around it would have ſtarted into arms againſt it; and its own ſubjects, according to their degrees of power, would have been forward to renounce their allegiance.

Mr. Haſtings, on the firſt intelligence of this commotion, directed Major Popham to repair immediately to his camp, which was about two miles from the Reſident's houſe, and at the ſame diſtance from the Rajah's, and to march inſtantly with the remainder of his detachment to the ſupport of the party. Major Popham, though he loſt not a moment to execute this order, arrived too late, and beheld with ſorrow the effects of a maſſacre which he could neither prevent nor revenge. Cheyt Sing fled to Lutteefpoor with his family, and all his forces, except the ordinary guard of Ramnagur; a vaſt pile of irregular but maſſy buildings, conſtructed of ſtone, on the river ſide, and partly within the bed of the river. To the original ſtrength of this place, Cheyt Sing had added ſome ſmall baſtions of ſtone and earth; but it poſſeſſed a ſtronger de-

defence in a large town which had grown around it, and the complicated intricacies of the apartments and paſſages of the palace. Ramnagur had been evacuated during the commotions at Shewallah-Gur: But the firſt tumults of conſternation having ſubſided, about two thouſand men had returned to that fortreſs, on the 18th of Auguſt, under the command of Ramjeewun, a confidential and domeſtic Chief of the Rajah's family.

The whole ſtrength of the Governor-General at Benaras, conſiſted originally of ſix companies of Major Popham's regiment, about ſixty ſepoys which he had taken from the garriſon at Buxar, for the protection of his boats, and a few men, without diſcipline, and without arms, who had been newly recruited for the Reſident's guard. Of Major Popham's regiment, eighty-two men had fallen in the maſſacre of Shewallah-Gur, and ninety-two were wounded. The whole number of killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and five.

The remainder of Major Popham's detachment, conſiſting of four companies of ſepoys, one company of artillery, and a company of French rangers, in our ſervice, were ordered to march immediately to Ramnagur; and a letter was ſent to Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, to detach

a battalion of ſepoys on the ſame deſtination, from the garriſon at Chunar. Theſe different forces were ordered to halt at a ſecure diſtance from Ramnagur, to avoid all hoſtilities, and to wait for further orders. Major Popham, formally inveſted with the command of this little body, in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of his operations, had choſen a convenient and open plain, on the ſhore oppoſite to Ramnagur, for a battery of two mortars, expected from Chunar. Theſe diſpoſitions promiſed a ſure and eaſy conqueſt; when an accident happened, which blaſted the reaſonable expectations, and had well nigh proved the ruin of the whole party. Captain Mayaffre, the ſenior, and conſequently the ruling officer before Major Popham aſſumed the command, unwilling to loſe the opportunity which his preſent and caſual authority afforded him of acquiring military reputation, without plan, without enquiry, againſt the advice of his officers, and againſt orders, led the detachment into the narrow ſtreets of the town of Ramnagur; where, expoſed to the fire of an enemy ſurrounding them unſeen, one hundred and ſeven men, including Captain Mayaffre, who commanded, and Captain Doxat, who led on the attack, were inſtantly killed, and ſeventy-two wounded.—Captain Blair, with the remains of the detachment, made a judicious and ſafe retreat. The

date

date of this maſſacre, rather than defeat, was the morning of the 20th of Auguſt, 1781.

Mr. Haſtings was now plunged in a decided war, in circumſtances that threatened inevitable deſtruction. Through an unfortunate train of official perplexities, preceding the date of this awful criſis, it happened that both Major Popham's regiment, the Rangers, and all the corps of the garriſon of Chunar, were four months in arrears. The war in the Carnatic wore an aſpect that portended at beſt no more than the probability of being able to prolong an uncertain ſtruggle. We were engaged in a conteſt with the Mahratta ſtates, towards the coaſt of Malabar, and with Madajee Scindia, near our own borders. A ſudden rebellion had deprived us of every foot of land in Benaras, and, having involved the province of Oude in a ſimilar defection, was extending its contagion over thoſe of Rohilcund and Doab, and even our own province of Bahar.—Troubles had overtaken, and were ſtill gathering around Mr. Haſtings on every ſide, at a time when he found himſelf unable to command three thouſand rupees.

The Governor General, under theſe accumulated difficulties and dangers, derived ſupport

and relief from the reſources of his own intrepid, quick, and comprehenſive mind; and from the courage, ability, zeal, and perſonal confidence and attachment of all the officers in the neareſt military ſtations, to whom, after the maſſacre of Shewallah-Gur, orders, in different letters, had been ſent for aſſiſtance. That theſe noble qualities were glorioufly diſplayed, both by him who was the prime mover, and thoſe who were the ſubordinate agents in the ſcenes that led to deliverance and triumph, ſufficiently appears from the *Narrative of the Inſurrection at Benaras*, * and will appear from the writings of all future hiſtorians. Let it ſuffice, in this abridged account of the military operations in India, during the period deſcribed, to relate, that the vigour of Mr. Haſtings, his admirable preſence of mind, the alacrity with which he was ſupported by our military ſtations, the rapidity with which he collected his forces, and the wiſdom with which he directed it, quaſhed rebellion, exalted the power of his country on its ruins, excited the aſtoniſhment of India, and the admiration of Europe. The dæmons of faction, of jealouſy, and of envy, united to raiſe a perſecution againſt this great man, according to the uſual fate of patriots and heroes under

* Written by Mr. Haſtings.

under free governments, in his own country: but, in Great Britain, as in every part of the civilized world, every candid mind and exalted ſpirit, allowed that the conduct of Mr. Haſtings was not more vigorous and ſucceſsful than upright and diſintereſted. On the occaſion of an extraordinary and alarming conjuncture in India, the Governor-General of Bengal reverted to the principles by which our dominion there had been both acquired and ſupported, and provided for the public ſafety by expedients, which, in times of tranquility, and in European governments, might be deemed violent and irregular, but which, in the circumſtances in which he was placed, beſides that they were ſanctioned by Oriental cuſtom, were proper, becauſe they were neceſſary. He burſt through the cobweb ſublimations of cauſuiſts, which cannot in all caſes, conſiſtently with the beſt ends of government, be reduced to practice, and left faction to blame, his country to judge, and the world to admire him.

The whole province of Benaras returned under the obedience of the Company. The town was placed under the government of a newly-created and independent magiſtracy; and the zemindary beſtowed, on the 30th of September, on Bauboo-Mehipnarain, grandſon in the female

male line, to the Rajah Bulwant Sing, according to the Hindoo law, the next lineal heir after his mother and grandmother, who, in his favour, formally yielded up their pretenſions.

It was agreed on between the Governor-General, in the name of the Eaſt-India Company, and the Nabob Vizier, that a reduction ſhould be made in the expence and the numbers of the Nabob's troops, conſiſting chiefly of a diſorderly and uſeleſs rabble, and that a new military eſtabliſhment ſhould be formed, well appointed and commanded, efficient in ſervice, and ſuch as ſhould protect, inſtead of diſtreſſing his country: and that, as great diſtreſſes had ariſen to the Nabob's government, from the military power and dominion aſſumed by the Jagheerdars, he ſhould be permitted to reſume ſuch Jagheers as he might find neceſſary, with a reſerve, in caſe of the reſumption of any jagheers for the amount of which the Company were guarantees, that an equivalent for their clear collections or rents, ſhould be paid through the reſident at Lucknow in ready money.

Agreeably to this convention, a reſumption was adviſed by Aſoph-ul-Dowlah, and agreed to by Mr. Haſtings, of the jagheers or eſtates of

of the Begums or Princeſſes of Oude, his mother and grandmother, who, as above mentioned, had united their authority and influence to embarraſs the Nabob's government, and to extend and aggravate the difficulties of the Engliſh. A proviſion at the ſame time was made, for replacing their income at the exact rate at which it ſtood in their own eſtimate, while they held the jagheers, by making it the condition of the reſumption, that they ſhould receive a penſion equal to the amount of thoſe poſſeſſions, in equal monthly payments: and theſe, for the fulleſt ſecurity, were made payable from the produce of the Company's aſſignments. The hoarded treaſures of the Begums, at the requeſt of their ſon and grandſon, to whom they belonged by the right of hereditary ſucceſſion, were alſo reſumed: by which means the Nabob was enabled to pay the arrears of ſubſidy due from Oude for the protection of the Company, which furniſhed a very ſeaſonable and neceſſary ſupply for the ſupport of his own authority, by ſupporting that of the Britiſh government in India.

In the month of Auguſt, 1781, diſpatches were brought from the Company to Fort St. George, by Sir John Macpherſon, who had been appointed in the preceding January a member

member of the Supreme Council. He was appointed to this ſtation at the recommendation of Lord North. That miniſter perceived in this gentleman diſpoſitions and talents which might be ſucceſsfully exerted to reſtore harmony, and give ſyſtemetic energy to the Councils of India; which, at a moment, when our colonies in the weſtern hemiſphere were in the utmoſt danger, from the diſtractions of party and civil diſcord, became doubly intereſting to the empire. It has been aſſerted, upon the beſt authority, that Sir John Macpherſon was charged by the Adminiſtration of 1781 with letters to the Governor-General and the other members of the Supreme Council, and to the Commanders in Chief by ſea and land, containing the grand outlines of the conduct proper to be purſued at that critical period: a vigorous proſecution of the conteſt with our European enemies; a pacific conduct towards the native ſtates of India; and a prudent and economical application of the Company's reſources. We accordingly find, that on the 11th of September, 1781, a council was held at Fort St. George, by Lord Macartney, Sir Eyre Coote, and Sir John Macpherſon, in which it was reſolved to addreſs the Mahratta Government on the ſubject of a general pacification. The Nabob of Arcot, and Sir Edward Hughes, as Commander in Chief

Chief by ſea in India, joined their authority to that of Sir John Macpherſon, in a letter to this purpoſe. In the ſame council, a letter was addreſſed to the Government of Bombay, and to General Goddard, directing a ceſſation of hoſtilities againſt the Mahrattas, and announcing the propoſitions made to the Mahratta Government, in conſequence of orders declared to be received by Sir John Macpherſon from the Company in England. It appears from the records of the Adminiſtration of Fort St. George and of Bengal, which have been publiſhed in the courſe of Mr. Haſtings's trial, by order of Parliament, that Lord Macartney, Sir Eyre Coote, and Sir John Macpherſon, had concerted a regular ſyſtem for proſecuting the war with vigour, and for compelling the Government of Bombay to relinquiſh the Mahratta conteſt, and to co-operate with the Preſidency of Madras in an attack on the dominions of Hyder.

A moſt intereſting document of the Bengal Government at that great criſis, has alſo been publiſhed in the parliamentary inquiry concerning the conduct of Mr. Haſtings. It is a letter addreſſed to the India Company ſoon after Sir John Macpherſon's arrival at Calcutta, when the Governor-General was at Benaras. This letter, which was ſigned by Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherſon,

Macpherſon, took a general ſurvey of the Company's affairs, and pledged the government of Bengal to the Company, and the natives, for the execution of certain meaſures of political prudence; and it called ſeriouſly upon the India Company to diſcharge their duty in ſupporting the Bengal government in the execution of the meaſures propoſed and pledged.

Sir John, after contributing his ſtrenuous aid and ſupport to the brilliant adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, on the return of his illuſtrious predeceſſor to England, in February 1785, roſe to the office of Governor-General. He continued to purſue his meaſures of reform, particularly in the reduction of the Company's expences, and brought his adminiſtration to a proſperous iſſue in September, 1786. In a letof the 10th of Auguſt, 1786, printed in the late parliamentary proceedings, after recapitulating the tranſactions in which he had been concerned, he calls upon the Company to declare, whether the meaſures promiſed in October, 1781, had not been fully carried into execution. The conſciouſneſs of merited approbation and applauſe, is, to a generous ſpirit, the nobleſt reward of virtue.

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At the ſame time that it is proper to record, with due praiſe, the reduction in the Company's expenditure, effected by Sir John Macpherſon, it is due to Mr. Haſtings to obſerve, that economy in times of peace, is not more laudable, than the grant of douceurs, and even the creation of offices, in ſituations of difficulty and alarm, are often neceſſary. Where a vaſt variety of inſtruments are to be combined in one ſyſtem of operation; where harmony is requiſite to the exiſtence of an empire, but not to be acquired by any appeal to reaſon or duty; ſacrifices muſt be made to ſelf-intereſt, and to paſſion.———There cannot be imagined a juſter ſubject of regret, than that the members of parliament in oppoſition to Adminiſtration, ſhould abuſe their fine parts, and pervert the firſt tribunal of the nation into an inſtrument of party, in the proſecution of Mr. Haſtings. With how much greater propriety might they employ their talents in defending even the irregularities of that great and diſintereſted character! What a charming and captivating picture might they draw, of a ſingle man ſupporting the weight of a whole empire, amidſt all the ſelfiſh oppoſition to his meaſures, which ſprung up from diſtance, from avarice, and from ambition! At a time when our government in India was new and undefined, the Governor-General, with 1,800 Europeans, was

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to keep in awe as many millions! Now he was forced to fight the Mahrattas; now to provide pay to a mutinous and motley army; and, in the midſt of all his cares, to ſerve the needy relations of thoſe to whom he was to look up at home, for that ſteady ſupport which the intereſt of his country required, but which, without private inducement, would not have been given.—He returns home poor; demands, in a peremptory tone, to be heard in his own vindication; and, while every candid mind is anxious for the reſult of his trial, he alone maintains the moſt perfect calmneſs and indifference!

The ceſſation of hoſtilities on our part, in conſequence of the inſtructions ſent from Britain by Sir J. Macpherſon, having co-operated with the ſucceſsful attack that had been made on the dominions of Madajee Scindiah, a private letter from Mr. Haſtings, Governor-General of India, to Lord Macartney, Preſident of the Council at Madras, informed his lordſhip that peace was concluded with the Mahrattas. All places taken from that nation by the Engliſh ſince the treaty of Colonel Upton in 1776, were to be reſtored; and the Company's claims to a country of three lacks of rupees, ceded to them by that treaty, were to

be

be relinquiſhed. On the other hand, it was ſtipulated, that the iſlands of Salſette, Hog, Elephanta, and Coranja, included in Colonel Upton's treaty, ſhould continue for ever in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh: and meaſures were to be taken for inducing, or, if neceſſary, for compelling Hyder-Ally-Cawn to reſtore ſuch territories belonging to the Engliſh Company and their allies as he had taken ſince the date of his treaty with the Paiſhwa. * This intelligence was announced with the firing of the guns in camp, and the artillery of Fort St. George, on the 29th day of June, 1782.

Sir Eyre Coote, inveſted with the powers of peace or war, left Madras on the 1ſt of July, approached to Hyder, and required him to accede to the treaty, with intimation, that, if he did not reſtore all the forts, and at the end of ſix months evacuate the Carnatic, the Mahratta arms were to be joined, for the purpoſe of compelling him, to thoſe of the Engliſh. The Khan, grown old in Aſiatic arts, amuſed and detained him in the neighbourhood of Vandeſh, till our army had conſumed, not only their

* he Mahratta miniſter or regent.—The king, a ageant of ſtate, is confined to the antient reſi- f his predeceſſors, at Setterah, and ſunk in vo- s indolence.

their own rice, but that alſo which was for the uſe of the garriſon. Having gained this point, he ſuddenly required time for the adjuſtment of preliminaries, and withdrew his Vakreel, leaving the General wholly in the dark concerning his intentions. Sir Eyre Coote returned with the army to Madras.

Hyder and the French Admiral had planned a combined attack on Negapatnam; to favour which, by detaining the army, the former amuſed our people with the hopes of peace. His artifice, however, was foiled by the chances of war. Suffrein, in ſailing for Negapatnam, was deſcried by the Engliſh fleet, and in ſpite of every attempt to gain the roads without fighting, he was, by the maſterly manœuvres of his opponents, forced to give them battle. At three o'clock, on the 3d of July, the Engliſh Admiral left the road of Negapatnam, ſtretching ſouthward with his ſquadron all that evening and night, in order to gain the wind of the enemy. He effected his purpoſe, and by day-break gave ſignals for forming the line. About eleven, the engagement became cloſe and general, and continued ſo till half paſt two, when the French line appeared greatly diſordered, ſeveral of their ſhips having ſuffered ſeverely both in their hulls and rigging.

moment when victory ſeemed ready to declare deciſively for the Britiſh flag, a ſea breeze ſpringing up, reſcued the enemy from impending ruin. Our line was thrown into diſorder, and Suffrein effected a maſterly retreat, fighting his beſt ſhips to protect thoſe which had ſuſtained the greateſt damage. The victors remained floating about in the utmoſt confuſion, without being able to renew the attack. The next day, the French, without the loſs of a ſingle ſhip, eſcaped to Cuddalore. From this nominal victory no advantage reſulted; and it was accompanied with the loſs of Captain Dunbar Maclellan, an officer, for his naval and military abilities, deſervedly held in high eſtimation. He commanded the flag ſhip, and was ſhot through the heart early in the engagement.

Sir Edward Hughes, after informing the garriſon of Negapatnam that the danger which threatened them was retarded, for a ſeaſon at leaſt, brought his ſquadron to the roads of Madras, where he was joined by the Scepter, a new ſhip of ſixty-four guns, belonging to Sir Richard Bickerton's fleet.

The deſigns of Suffrein againſt Trincomallée being known, or ſuſpected, it was determined to reinforce that important place. Accordingly, the Scepter and Monmouth, ſhips of the line,

with about two hundred troops under the command of Captain Macdowal of the 42d regt. ſailed on that expedition, leaving the reſt of the ſquadron, for repairs, in the roads of Madras. Theſe ſhips, after landing the troops, returned with information, that they had found the French fleet off the harbour of Trincomallée, and had with difficulty effected their eſcape. At length, on the 21ſt of Auguſt, Sir Edward Hughes, after compleating his tedious repairs, ſet ſail to protect Trincomallée, to fight Suffrein, or to co-operate with the army in the intended attack on Cuddalore. He had on board part of the 98th regiment, with Colonel Fullarton, appointed, by the Preſidency of Madras, to the command of the fortreſs and garriſon of Trincomallée. But, beſides the command of the garriſon, he had it in charge from the Governor and Select Committee of Madras, not to confine his attention to the duties, however important, of that particular ſtation, but to extend his obſervations and exertions to every circumſtance which might contribute to ſecure and promote the Britiſh intereſt and welfare in every part of the iſland of Ceylon. The inſtructions of Lord Macartney to the Colonel on this occaſion, were founded in views equally humane and politically prudent. "A good treatment of the "people now ſubject to the Britiſh power," he ob-

" obſerved, was the ſureſt as well as the juſteſt
" method of engaging others to place themſelves
" under the Britiſh protection. The oppreſ-
" ſions exerciſed in Ceylon by the Dutch, had a
" natural tendency to alienate the natives from
" all Europeans. It was neceſſary, therefore,
" for the Engliſh to give ſubſtantial proofs of
" juſtice and encouragement before a diſtinction
" could be effected in their favour. The jea-
" louſy entertained of our views, and the un-
" certainty of our ſucceſs, might have prevented
" the Sovereign of Ceylon, generally called the
" King of Candy, from immediately acced-
" ing to propoſitions formerly made to him,
" for entering into a ſtrict alliance with us.
" But, the diſappointment with which the
" French had hitherto met in their deſigns
" againſt us, and the firm hold which we
" ſeemed now to have taken of Trincomallée,
" might incline the King of Candy to conſider
" an union with the Engliſh as his intereſt.
" Though it might not be expedient to renew
" our applications to him formally at the pre-
" ſent moment, leſt, from our ſolicitude to ob-
" tain his friendſhip and aſſiſtance, he ſhould in-
" fer any idea of our weakneſs, occaſions might
" ariſe of opening a correſpondence, in the
" courſe of which there might be an opportunity
" of convincing him that we were the enemies

" only of his enemies and oppreſſors; that we " had attacked, and meant to attack only the " poſſeſſions of our European enemies in India, " whoſe unprovoked hoſtilities had forced us " into a war. Such a correſpondence might " even lead to a propoſal, as a proof of our " tenderneſs for his claims, which, no doubt, " extended to the whole iſland of Ceylon, to ac- " cept of a grant from him to the Company, and " to enjoy, under this grant, the poſſeſſions we " then held in that iſland, by right of conqueſt " over our declared enemies. This grant might " become of vaſt importance, by eſtabliſhing in " us a right to keep Trinc'mallée under that " title, when a peace migi force us to reſtore " it to the Dutch, if we had not any other title " to it than that of having wreſted it from them " by force of arms."

The whole Britiſh army could not have furniſhed a more proper agent for carrying theſe excellent inſtructions into execution than Colonel Fullarton: for his diſpoſition was naturally ſocial, ingenuous, and manly: and he united a turn for ſcience with a ſpirit of enterprize and talents for buſineſs. He poſſeſſed a quick diſcernment of character, with great inſinuation and addreſs. Of courage he had given repeated proofs: and good ſenſe, with much obſervation

on the buſy ſcenes of life, had taught him the vaſt importance, even in a political view, of good faith and fair dealing. After multiplied proofs of both ability and zeal, in a civil capacity, under the adminiſtration of Lord North, he received the promiſe of a very reſpectable appointment in the diplomatique ſervice: but, conceiving that little credit was to be acquired in negotiation, when every Court was adverſe to the cauſe of Britain, he exchanged civil for military employment, and, at a great expence and riſk, raiſed a regiment, as already related. His deſtination to Ceylon ſeemed to open a wide career to his ambition, both in the character of a ſoldier and negociator: but the hopes that were formed from the exertions of this gentleman were blaſted by the activity of the French, and the remiſsneſs of the Engliſh Admiral.

1782.] On the night of the 2d of September, Sir Edward Hughes arrived off Trincomallée, and the next morning diſcovered French colours flying on all the forts, and their ſquadron, reinforced by the Illuſtre of 74 guns, the St. Michael of 64, and the Elizabeth of 50, with ſeveral frigates, making, in all, thirty ſail, at anchor in their ſeveral bays. The Engliſh might eaſily have avoided an engagement; for though, immediately on their appearance, the French

ſquadron got under ſail, yet, for ſeveral hours, they ſhewed manifeſt tokens of heſitation. But the ardour of our officers and men, incenſed at the loſs of Trincomallée, was not to be reſtrained. At half paſt two o'clock the French line began to fire on ours, and, five minutes after, the engagement became general. The Worceſter, in the rear, was furiouſly attacked by two of the enemy's additional ſhips, but made a brave reſiſtance, and was gallantly ſupported by the Monmouth; while at the ſame time, in the van, five ſhips bore down in a crowd on the Exeter and the Iſis, and by a cloſe and concerted fire, forced the former, much diſabled, from the line, leaving the Iſis to receive their fire as they paſſed in ſucceſſion. The oppoſing centers, in the mean time, were warmly engaged, ſhip to ſhip. For three hours the battle continued to rage, with equal fury and obſtinacy through every part of the line. The contending Admirals diſplayed great bravery and ſkill. Suffrein, in the Heros, having come down upon the fire of two of our largeſt ſhips, two of his maſts were ſhot away by the board, and his veſſel ſoon reduced to a mere wreck. He inſtantly removed his flag to another, giving the Heros up for loſt; but by ſome negligence on our part, and the brave conduct of a French frigate, ſhe was towed round to their fleet.

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The fight was terminated only by the darkneſs of the night; and its conſequences muſt have been far more ſignal, had the French wanted the ſhelter of Trincomallée: nor would the Britiſh Admiral have immediately ſteered for Madras, if Suffrein had not been ſo near his port. So completely routed were the enemy, that their ſhips crowded without order into Trincomallée. One of them was loſt upon the rocks; and it was ten days before two others, diſmaſted and ſhattered, were able to get into harbour. Theſe, Suffrein did not ſcruple to ſay, he regarded as preſents made to him by the Engliſh Admiral.

The loſs on our ſide in men was incredibly ſmall, not exceeding fifty-one killed, and three hundred wounded; but in officers we ſuffered moſt ſeverely. The Honourable Captain Lumley of the Iſis, a very promiſing young man, was ſlain: Captains James Watt, of the Sultan, and Charles Wood, of the Worceſter, both officers of high deſert, were mortally wounded. The 78th and 98th regiments, too, loſt many of their braveſt men.

This was the ſixth naval engagement in which the 98th regiment ſerved, with diſtinguiſhed credit. They performed the duty of both marines and ſailors with great bravery and addreſs;

and were honoured on this, as on other occaſions, with the thanks of Sir Edward Hughes, and of the naval officers commanding the reſpective ſhips on board of which that corps was ſtationed. The loſs of the French, compared with ours, was enormous, amounting to four hundred and twelve killed, and ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix wounded. The carnage on board the Hero was ſuch as is ſeldom ſeen, except in caſes of burning or exploſion. Six French Captains were broken, and ſent priſoners to the iſland of Mauritius.

Hyder, having marched to the Tanjore country, found that the defeat of Monſ. de Suffrein had fruſtrated the intended operations againſt Negapatnam. He therefore returned, directing his march towards his magazine at Arnée. This movement being reported to the Britiſh army, the General became apprehenſive of danger to the Fort of Vandewaſh. Abandoning, for the preſent, his deſigns on Cuddalore, he advanced a day's march towards the fort: but, having received intelligence, that very evening, from the Commanding Officer, that Hyder had paſſed the Arnée river, he reſumed his original route, and, on the 6th of September, encamped on the Red Hills of Pondicherry, the place of rendezvous for the enemy's ſhipping. Two days

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paſſed without the appearance of any ſhips, or any account of them. But, on the 3d, certain notice arrived, that Monſ. de Suffrein had reduced Trincomallée: and ſoon after, a frigate brought intelligence that the two fleets had fought a fourth battle, and that the Engliſh Admiral, having left the French maſters at ſea, to windward, was on his way to Madras; where he arrived on the 8th of September, 1782.

Sir Eyre Coote had of late been ſo ſeverely attacked by a complication of diſorders, as to be obliged to be moved from camp to a country-houſe near Pondicherry; and had left the immediate charge of the army, during that period, to General Stuart, the officer next in command, in whom he had the utmoſt confidence. At this time, when the Britiſh ſquadron had returned to Madras, and the French fleet was left to windward, Hyder's whole force was within two days march, moving alſo towards Cuddalore, and there was not above ſeven days proviſion of rice with the Britiſh army, neither any proviſion ſhips in ſight, as expected. General Stuart, therefore, in conſequence of the truſt repoſed in him, judged it highly expedient, that the army ſhould return towards the magazines nearer to the Preſidency, from whence alone it could be ſupplied.

Early

Early in the forenoon of the 11th of September, verbal orders were communicated, through the Adjutant-General, to the heads of corps, departments and out-posts, to be in readineſs to march. About two in the afternoon, Sir Eyre Coote came to the head of the line, carried in a palánquin. The affectionate expreſſions which he addreſſed to General Stuart; the warm approbation which he beſtowed on his orders and arrangements; the communication of his opinion with regard to the ſituation of public affairs; the ſentiments of regret which he expreſſed at the return of Sir Edward Hughes to Madras, which cut off an opportunity of driving the French at that time, from Cuddalore; and, above all, his apprehenſions of the dangers that might ariſe from the loſs of Trincomalée, made a lively impreſſion, and will be long remembered by the circle of bye-ſtanders at that moſt affecting interview of the two Generals. At eleven at night, the army encamped at Killinore. The march continued undiſturbed, and without loſs of any ſort, worth notice. The army halted for immediate ſupplies at Chingleput; where, alſo, they were to await the return of Sir Eyre Coote's diſpatches to the Preſidency. And, as they could not immediately proceed to the ſouthward, without being covered by the

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ſquadron, it was judged proper, in the mean time, to return for full ſupplies to the Mount.

On the arrival of the Engliſh ſquadron at Madras; their ſituation was found to be ſuch, as to induce the Admiral to entertain thoughts of proceeding to Bombay: and in this purpoſe he afterwards perſiſted, notwithſtanding the opinion of the Preſident, Lord Macartney, who gave for record, a very pointed minute on this ſubject.

Sir Edward Hughes, having declared, in a committee, that his Majeſty's ſquadron could not, for that ſeaſon, remain long enough on the coaſt, to afford protection to the army in any effectual co-operations againſt Cuddalore; and that it became neceſſary to return immediately to dock, and refit the ſhips at Bombay, ſo as to be in condition to oppoſe the enemy's utmoſt force, expected early next ſeaſon, which would otherwiſe become impracticable. This declaration of the Admiral, made in the end of September, of itſelf put an end to any further field operations, which would have been interrupted, at any rate, by the approaching monſoon.

A great number of ſhips, private property, at this time, ſent from Bengal, lay in the roads

roads of Madras, laden with rice. The Government laid an embargo on them; yet refuſed, it was ſaid, to give a price for the grain equal to the riſks of trade, or allow it to be ſold to the ſuffering inhabitants, who, amidſt a famine that ravaged throughout the whole of the coaſt of Coromandel, were dying by hundreds in a day. Lord Macartney was not ſuſpected of ſordid views by any competent judges of his character. Suſpicions, however, were entertained, according to the manner of the people, of a contrivance for engroſſing the grain. Nevertheleſs, the paſſive genius of a deſpotic climate conſpired with the artillery of Fort St. George, to prevent ſuch an inſurrection as would have been unavoidable, in ſimilar circumſtances, under the moſt arbitrary government in Europe. Many of the gentlemen of Madras, diſpleaſed with his Lordſhip's conduct in this particular, drew up a decent remonſtrance; but the Preſident threw it aſide, charging the meeting in which it was framed, with audaciry and ſedition. It afforded but little conſolation to dying multitudes of men, women, and children, that his Lordſhip obſerved the decency of ſending away his carriage horſes. The approach of the monſoon made not any impreſſion on the mind of Lord Macartney. Notwithſtanding the riſk of property which thereby accrued to the

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merchants, he perſevered in his views, whatever they were, and the rice ſhips were forced ſtill to lie at anchor. But, on the 15th of October, the ſky began to lower, and the gathering clouds burſt, towards the evening, in a violent ſtorm. The return of day preſented the diſmal proſpect of wrecked veſſels, and dead bodies floating along the ſhore. Of the rice ſhips, driven by the hurricane from their moorings, the greater part were loſt, or ſtranded at Madras beach and on different parts of the coaſt. On the firſt appearance of the monſoon ſhifting, his Majeſty's fleet anchored in deeper water; ſoon after ſtood out to ſea, and, weathering many dangers, happily arrived, though not a little ſhattered, at Bombay, in the end of December.

But, at Madras, the wideſt doors of calamity ſeemed now to be thrown open; and fears and future evils preſſed down the load of actual ſuffering. Our ſquadron was abſent, the French Admiral maſter at ſea in the neighbourhood, multitudes ſwooning in the ſuburbs and ſtreets for want of food, proviſions nearly expended in the garriſon, the land around uncultivated and unſown: in a word, famine and war encircled Fort St. George without, and difference of opinions, as to the moſt material objects of execu-

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tive government, at that criſis, prevailed in the councils within. It was dreaded, at this time, that Monſ. de Suffrein would block up Madras; and Lord Macartney's plans implied the diſbanding, or at leaſt the diſperſion of the army: but General Stuart, who had a ſeat in the Madras Committee, as Commander in Chief upon the coaſt, and who alſo commanded the King's troops, in the abſence of Sir Eyre Coote, maintained, with inflexible firmneſs, that the army ſhould be kept as much together as poſſible near the Preſidency, without ſending detachments to the ſouthward, or any where elſe, that thus they might be ready for action on the arrival of the proper ſeaſon.

A few days after the ſtorm, Sir Richard Bickerton arrived from Bombay, with five ſhips of the line, without having experienced any ill weather, or ſeen a ſingle ſhip belonging to the fleet. Sir Richard, after covering the Indiamen under his convoy, having on board three regiments of infantry, with recruits raiſed chiefly in Ireland, and the men for Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horſe, returned immediately, without making a halt, that he might join Sir Edward Hughes at Bombay, at which place Sir Richard arrived even ſome weeks before the Admiral. During the whole month of October,

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our affairs in the Carnatic continued to wear a gloomy aſpect. But, in the month of November they aſſumed a more proſperous appearance, and, before the end of the year, the face of ſorrow was brightened up by the meritorious exertions of the Government of Bengal, who furniſhed Madras with plentiful ſupplies of grain.

The concluſion of 1782 was marked by the death of Hyder-Ally, in the 83d year of his age. He preſerved the powers of his mind entire, and perſevered in his uſual habits, acting the part of a profound politician, and able commander, to the morning of the third day before that on which he died. Hyder, on his death-bed, recommended, in a letter which he dictated, to his eldeſt ſon, Tippoo Saib, to cultivate a connection with the Engliſh, as he found that the French were not to be relied on. It would be difficult to find ſo noble and unſuſpected a teſtimony to the fair and manly character of the Engliſh nation, as that which has been given in the laſt words of ſo great a prince and warrior!

Tippoo, at the time of this important event, was engaged in an excurſion, in purſuit of the Lieut. Colonels Humberſtone and Macleod, towards Pannianah, on the coaſt of Malabar; which carries

carries back our Narrative to the arrival of the troops under the command of Colonel Humberſtone, on the 16th of February, 1782, at Callicut.

1782.] Colonel Humberſtone having, on the 22d of January, landed his troops on Old Woman's Iſland, at Bombay, for refreſhment, reembarked them on the 27th, on the 28th ſet ſail for Madras, on the 4th of February anchored in the road of Tellicherry, and, on the 9th of the ſame month, off Anjengo, in the dominions of the king of Travancore.—— Here intelligence was received that Hyder-Ally had over-run the whole of the Carnatic; that he threatened the kingdom of Tanjore, and the ſtates of the Marawas, of Madura, and Tivinelly, with utter deſtruction; that he had circumvented and cut off two Britiſh armies, and, in conſequence of the improvidence, puſillanimity, and diſſentions of the Government of Madras, inſulted the diſpirited and aſtoniſhed garriſon of Fort St. George itſelf. Colonel Humberſtone was now impatient to go round by Cape Comorin, and to join the army at Madras; but, on receiving undoubted intelligence that the French fleet were at that time to aſſemble off Point de Galle, in the iſland of Ceylon; and that commiſſaries had been ſent ſome time ago

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to Columbo, and other ports in Ceylon, to lay up magazines for their fleet and army, he called a council of war, and laid the ſituation of affairs before them. Some propoſed, after a paſſage of near twelve months, to return for the refreſhment of the ſeamen and ſoldiers to Bombay, and there to wait a favourable opportunity of going round to Madras: and others, to march ſuch of the ſoldiers as were able, acroſs the peninſula, from Anjengo to the Carnatic, and to ſend the ſhips, with the ſick and lame, back to Bombay. But Colonel Mackenzie Humberſtone, their Commander, was ſtruck with the delays of the former plan, and the dangers of the latter. He therefore propoſed that with his own troops, which did not amount to one thouſand, (for the 42d regiment, with the four Indiamen had not yet arrived) and what ſepoys could be ſpared from Tellicherry, to make a diverſion on the coaſt of Malabar, in favour of our army in the Carnatic: a meaſure which was readily approved by the council. In purſuance of this plan, it was determined that the little army ſhould land at Calicut, which had fallen into the hands of the Tellicherry troops, of which Colonel Humberſtone could claim the command, as an officer of ſuperior rank to that of Major Abington. Here, accordingly, the army debarked, and encamped in a cocoa-nut grove, on the 18th of February.

On the 27th of March, the flank companies of the army, with four companies of grenadier ſepoys, took the field under Major Robert Douglas, ſecond in command, but accompanied by the Commander in Chief. The reſt of the army, under the conduct of Major John Campbell, were ordered to follow. Proceeding ſouthward, by ſhort marches, they determined, on the 7th of April, to attack the fort of Trincolore. The flank corps accordingly, marched at the dawn, and after paſſing ſome difficult ground, came up with the enemy about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, drawn up in a field, behind a hedge, and betwixt our army and the fort. An attack was opened upon our men by ſurpriſe. The enemy, however, briſkly attacked in their turn, ſoon gave way, and were purſued with great ſlaughter, for about three miles, to the other ſide of Trinigardo. They continued to retreat with great precipitation, in three different bodies, till they reached Ramgurree, twenty miles from Trincolore plains: their ſtrength was about one thouſand five hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot. Their Commander, Mugdum-Ally-Khan, a near relation of Hyder's, was killed in the action. The loſs ſuſtained by the enemy muſt have exceeded four hundred men, and ſeveral hundred horſes. There is reaſon to ſuppoſe that many were carried off, as many

dead bodies were found with ropes about their legs, whom they were obliged to leave behind them. Ours was very trifling. The army reſted three days at Vangatty-cottah. In their march to Ternavey, on the 13th of April, which was very ſultry, fourteen of the ſoldiers, of the 100th regiment, unſeaſoned to the climate, ſtruck by the ſun, dropped down, at the ſame inſtant, and ſuddenly died. It is remarkable that theſe men were, every one of them, the ſtouteſt that day in the line.

On the approach of the rainy ſeaſon, our troops retired to cantonements at Callicut, where they arrived by the 27th of May. They [1782. again took the field on the 2d of September, with their eye fixed on Pallacottah, a ſtrong fort ſituated about one mile from Pallacatcherry, which commands the great ſouthern paſs between the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel. That important place, they had reaſon to believe, would fall into their hands, if not defended by a very conſiderable reinforcement: but ſuch a reinforcement would weaken the enemy on the other ſide of the peninſula, and contribute to the relief of the Carnatic. The ſecond battalion of the 42d regiment, having now joined them, our army conſiſted of above nine hundred Britiſh, and two thouſand Bombay ſepoys.

Colonel Humberſtone, in order to make the diverſion he had in view the more reſpectable, ſolicited aid from our good ally and friend the King of Travancore, and obtained twelve hundred ſepoys, with European officers and ſerjeants, maintained at the King's expence. Our little army was accompanied by a train of artillery of ſix eighteen pounders, two twelve pounders, eight ſix pounders, and four amuzettes: the whole managed by above eighty European and one hundred and fifty black or native artillery men. But, for want of draught bullocks, they were obliged to leave half of their eighteen pounders, and both their twelve pounders at Pananah. For the ſame reaſon, they were obliged to leave all their mortars and howitzers, and the reſt of their 18 ponuders, at Ramgurree. They came before this place on the 20th of September, and were preparing to open mortar batteries againſt it, as its lofty ſituation did not admit of any other mode of attack, when it was deſerted on the night of the 6th of October.—Ramgurree is ſituated thirty miles inland from Pananah, exactly midway between that place and Pallacottah. They therefore garriſoned it with convaleſcents, and ſome men that had been ſlightly wounded, and made it the center link of a chain of communication.

On the 14th they took Mungara-cottah, with about ninety foot priſoners. Here they left all their women and heavy baggage, and on the 18th marched to Pallacatcherry, about ten miles diſtant. About three miles from the fort they encountered the enemy, who gave way almoſt without reſiſtance. Our troops purſued them till they had reached their camp, which they had burned to the ground. The Engliſh formed their encampment near it, as the enemy were either diſperſed or had fled into Pallacottah; and the inhabitants of Pallacottah into the country. On the 19th, they marched and encamped within gun-ſhot of the fort. An ineffectual cannonade was kept up by the enemy, and various movements were made by our army, one of which encouraged a vain attempt on our camp, from the 19th to the 21ſt October, when the Commander, convinced that he could not reduce Pallacottah without heavy artillery, gave orders, late at night, for the troops to be under arms at four o'clock next morning, in order to retire to the ground which they had occupied on the night of the 18th.

Unfortunately the Brigade Major, who directed the retreat, inſtead of putting the line to the right about, ordered them to counter-march, which threw the ſtores and baggage into the

rear, and expoſed them to the enemy, who had early intelligence, which they did not fail to improve, of this movement. The Engliſh, in entering the town of Pallacatcherry, were obliged to paſs through a narrow defile. Near the farther end of the town, a vidette belonging to a ſmall party of the enemy, was poſted on an eminence, with a ſmall light. When the van of our army approached this light, the vidette extinguiſhed it; and this was the ſignal for an aſſault. They juſtly concluded, that when our van reached ſo far, not above one-third of our line would remain on their ſide of the defile, and that with them only they would have to combat. The event exceeded their moſt ſanguine wiſhes; for, by the time that our van had reached the light, ſcarcely any thing remained to enter the defile but the rear-guard and baggage. On theſe the enemy made a furious attack: whilſt our van faced to the right about, and went to their aſſiſtance. The rear-guard, and a ſmall part of the baggage were ſaved by a movement of the flank companies: but the whole proviſion of the army was loſt, and almoſt all their ammunition, beſides private baggage. Several of our men were mortally wounded; and among theſe Major G. Hutchinſon of the 98th regiment. His death was regretted by the whole army. Even the black troops ſhed tears at his interment.

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The little Engliſh army had taken poſt on the ground they had intended to occupy, when orders were given to retreat. Colonel Humberſtone intended to have remained in camp, on this ground, for ſome time, and to ſend back all the bullocks he could collect, to bring up ſome battering guns from Ramgurree. But, after the late diſaſter, ſcarcely any bullocks were to be found: and there was now no reſource but in retiring to the coaſt. They were ſcarcely on the line of march, when they were attacked from every thicket, and exceedingly harraſſed both in their flanks and rear. About ſunſet they reached the river Caveri, which the late falls of rain had rendered impaſſable. They therefore reſted upon their arms all night, while the Engineer's people were employed in conſtructing rafts of wood to float them over in the morning. This day they had not taſted any food. Lieutenant Wheeler, with ſixteen ſoldiers, was wounded, and ſeveral ſepoys killed.

The ſwelling of the river having ſubſided in the night, they paſſed through in the morning undiſturbed; and, at night, reached the banks of the river near Mungarah-cottah, which was impaſſable. This, too, was a day of faſting. With ſome difficulty, a few rice cakes were conveyed in the evening, acroſs the river, from

Mungarah-cottah; from whence alſo plentiful ſupplies of bullocks and rice were ſent, and conveyed with great eaſe next morning. During theſe three laſt days, a prodigious deſertion took place among the ſepoys, one of whom, caught in the act of deſerting, was blown from the mouth of a cannon. Colonel Humberſtone, on the 21ſt of November, removed his camp to the Mungarah-cottah ſide of the river, and covered his right flank with the fort. Having previouſly ſent off the ſick and wounded, the women, and the baggage to Pananah, he ſprung mines under the four baſtions of Mungarah-cottah fort. Two of the mines blew the baſtions above them to deſtruction: the other two miſgave. At night they reached Cunitery, and, the night after, regained their old ground at Ramgurree, which they blew up on the evening of the 18th.

Here they received repeated and certain information, that Tippoo Saib, during the inaction of our army in the monſoon ſeaſon, had left the Carnatic, and was advancing towards them at the head of an army of ſeveral thouſand men, and 24 pieces of cannon. Orders were immediately given for the line to be ready to march by four in the morning. A picquet of about one hundred and fifty men was ſtationed at the diſtance of near three miles from Ramgurree, the preſent ſtation of

of the army. This picquet the Major of Brigade accidentally neglected to call in, in the evening of the 18th, and, in the morning of the 19th, it was with difficulty that a meſſenger could be found who would venture to go to their poſt, as it was ſaid that the enemy had been ſeen in the interval. Lieutenant Halliday, at laſt, brought them in, after the line had been under arms four hours, waiting their return. It was about nine o'clock, before noon, when our ſmall army began to march: but ſcarcely had they advanced three miles from their ground, when Tippoo Saib, who had previouſly ſent forward detachments to be poſted in advantageous ſituations for galling them as they paſſed, opened a cannonade on their rear. They at firſt attempted to reach Pananah by a ſhort route, through a flat country of rice grounds, without paſſing the river at all. But they were obliged, after marching ſome miles, to return to their former courſe. They were forced to fight their way all day long, both with muſketry and cannon. It was nearly dark when they reached that curve, or concave, where there is a ford of the Pananah river: but it was ſo ſwoln with the late rains, that it was deemed both by the enemy and our men, impaſſable.

In this perilous ſituation they halted for two hours in the utmoſt incertitude. People were

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ſent both below and above the ford, to find, if poſſible, a practicable paſs. It was determined, if theſe ſhould return unſucceſsful, as the only deſperate reſource that remained in a deſperate caſe, to beat up the enemy's camp before the approach of morning, and either conquer or die. A ford, however, was found; and though it was ſo deep as to take ordinary men to the chin, and the ſtrength of the current lifted many off the ground, yet, by clinging to one another, and aſſiſting each other, not a man was loſt. A few men of ſhort ſtature were obliged to let go their muſkets and ammunition, which they carried on their heads, in order to ſave themſelves; and only two black women were loſt out of the whole army. This was done in the dark, and happily unperceived by the enemy. The 100th regiment covered the paſſage of the river, for fear of interruption. After having paſſed, they proceeded with as little noiſe as poſſible to the high ground of Ternavey, about five miles diſtant, and there halted near two hours, kindled large fires, and dried their clothes. Before dawn they moved off, and two miles forward they paſſed the Pananah river, at the ſecond ford, eight miles above the town of that name, without moleſtation. The enemy imagining them to be ſtill in the concave of the river, did not ſtir all night, expecting them to become an eaſy pray in the morning. This Tippoo afterwards acknowledged at Mangalore,

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They were much ſurpriſed threfore, to find, on the morning, that our men had eſcaped them, and had alſo repaſſed the river at the other ford, before even their cavalry came in view of them. Thus the Engliſh proceeded on their march without moleſtation till they came within two miles of the town of Pananah, when ſome of the enemy attempted to harraſs their rear, but without almoſt any execution. They entered Pananah about four o'clock afternoon, when they were ſeparated in three diviſions, and properly poſted for the defence of that place. Thus Colonel Mackenzie Humberſtone, to a certain degree, effected a diverſion on the Malabar coaſt for the relief of the Carnatic: but not without riſk, in moving ſo far as he did from the ſea, without the means of draft and carriage cattle for his guns and ſubſiſtence; for, if Colonel Macleod had not, by good fortune, landed with a force at Pananah to ſupport Humberſtone in his retreat to the coaſt, Tippoo might have entirely defeated the whole of his original force. But on the other hand, had the ſouthern army, under Colonel Lang, marched towards Palacatcherry, as Humberſtone had been taught to expect, the progreſs of Tippoo might have been impeded.

Our army, cloſely blockaded, were employed in raiſing lines of defence, when, on the morning of the 28th of November, before [1782.
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dawn, a general aſſault was made by the enemy on the center poſt, commanded by Major Campbell. The enemy were headed by Mr. Lally, with a party, if not all his men, on foot. They came in columns, took a ſmall mud fort without our lines, and diſlodged our ſepoys without reſiſtance. The alarm was immediately given, and the beſieged were inſtantly in arms. The enemy, however, had already reached our lines, and were in poſſeſſion of our guns. The 42d regiment attacked them vigorouſly with the bayonet, and ſoon turned their front back upon thoſe who ſupported them. Theſe, attempting to flee, put their followers in confuſion. A general route took place, though they repeatedly endeavoured to rally. The conteſt had been maintained for ſeveral hours, when the enemy retreated, leaving about five hundred dead on the field. The number of killed, wounded, and miſſing, amounted to upwards of a thouſand. Captain de L'Ile and a young Enſign were made priſoners; the firſt mortally wounded. Tippoo remained, however, for ſome days, in the beginning of December, within a few miles of Colonel Macleod, when, upon the news of Hyder's laſt illneſs, he returned with the utmoſt expedition towards the Carnatic.

Tippoo, the firſt born of Hyder, was the ſon of a concubine. His brother, though yo[illegible]

younger, poſſeſſed the advantage of being deſcended from a princeſs of royal extraction.--- Though neither the capacity nor the ambition of this young man were ſuch as to impreſs the mind of Tippoo with fear, he yet judged it prudent to fix himſelf in the adminiſtration of affairs, in the firſt place, and by firm poſſeſſion, to prevent all ideas of competition. The moment, therefore, that he heard of his father's death, he returned with incredible celerity to the Carnatic, ſecured the good will of the principal officers of the army by liberal preſents, as well as promiſes of favour, and anticipated cabal and faction by the authority of his preſence, and an immediate exerciſe of power.

Much about the time that the demolition of Vandewaſh had been effected, with marked diſgrace to Tippoo and the French, in February, 1783, it appears that there were certain conferences concerning peace interchanged between Lord Macartney and Tippoo, through the medium of the Tanjore Vakeel: but, it ſeems that the propoſitions came firſt from the Reſident, and on that account, perhaps, were ſlighted by Tippoo; for the negotiation came to nothing. The treaty that had been lately concluded with the Mahrattas, and the wonderful ſucceſſes of our weſtern army, now under the command of Bri-

Brigadier-General Mathews, it was ſuppoſed, would have conſtrained Tippoo to come into any reaſonable terms of peace; but it was found, that he expected to re-eſtabliſh his affairs on the Malabar coaſt, in time to act again in the Carnatic, in conjunction with the French, on the arrival of M. de Buſſy, hourly expected. And although, in order to avoid the arms of the Mahrattas, as well as to oppoſe the Engliſh army on the other ſide of the peninſula, he determined to withdraw the chief part of his troops from the Carnatic; he deſtroyed Arcot and the other forts which he had garriſoned, retained in his ſervice a battalion of French troops, for the ſupport of our enemies, at Cuddalore, beſides ſix thouſand horſe, and many thouſand Carnatic peons, left in the back country there, under the command of Seyd-Saib, and marched in queſt of General Mathews, who was, by this time, in poſſeſſion of the capital of Bednore, and rapidly extending his conqueſts all around him. Theſe things took place in the beginning of 1783.] March.

In January, 1783, General Matthews landed from Bombay, with 400 Europeans, and 1000 ſepoys, at Rajah Mandroog, near Margee, about three hundred miles northward of Pananah. He took Onore by ſtorm, with ſeveral ſmall

forts

forts of little conſequence. At Cundapore, on the 17th of January, he was joined by the troops from Pananah, under the command of Colonel Macleod. His army conſiſted now of fifteen hundred effective Europeans and four thouſand ſepoys, with a proportionate number of laſcars and artillery, two twelve-pounder field pieces, four ſix-pounders, two two-pounders, and two one-pounder amuzettes. For each of theſe guns, it was with difficulty that he found conveyance for an hundred rounds of ammunition; thirty rounds of muſket ammunition each man, excluſive of what they carried in their pockets, and four days proviſion, which both Europeans and ſepoys carried on their backs. On the 23d of January, in the evening, this army was ſet in motion, directing their line of march towards the great paſs which leads to the table-land of Hindoſtan, over that chain of mountains which runs from Cape Comorin northward into Perſia. Having marched about three miles, they halted at a place where a branch of the road towards the paſs ſhoots off to Mangalore. On the 24th they marched to a village called Soull. The enemy took poſſeſſion of ſome hills covered with bruſh-wood, about four miles from our encampment. They were driven before our men with conſiderable loſs on their ſide; but on ours, only eight or ten men wounded. There is a river which

runs

runs quite close to the village of Soull, by means of which the General expected to be met at that place, with several boats laden with provisions. But on his arrival there, he found the river only a small stream, not six inches deep.

Disappointed of the stores expected by water at Soull, our army depended wholly on accidental supplies. For the Europeans, to a man, and many of the sepoys had thrown off their provisions in the late skirmish. They found rice enough in the village, for present refreshment to the sepoys; but both beef and arrack was wanting to the Europeans. Next day they marched, five miles, to Siddapore, where they found 2000 bags of rice. Though the journey was short, the space of nine hours was consumed in accomplishing it. The roads were so bad, and the number of draft cattle so scanty, that they were obliged, in several places, to put the bullocks of two guns to one, and then to return for the other gun.

On the morning of the 26th, our army marched to a fort and village, six miles distant, situated at the foot of the ghaut, and called Hussain-Gurry. About half way between this place and Siddapore, the enemy felled the trees across the road, and lined the thick brushwood on either side

ſide. About four hundred yards from the place where this abbatis began, they took advantage of a ſteep eminence, with a batta field in front, to throw up a breaſt-work, which they lined with two or three thouſand men. The right wing of our army, commanded by Colonel Macleod, ſoon drove the parties from the woods, and purſuing them with all the ardour of Highlanders, penetrated the breaſt-work before the enemy were aware of their approach Macleod himſelf was the firſt man that mounted the work. The 42d regiment bravely ſupported the gallantry of their Colonel, and the ſepoys, the courage of the Europeans. Four hundred of the enemy were put to the bayonet, as they fled with precipitation from the village of Huſſain-Gurry to the fort. The army that was oppoſed to our troops on this occaſion, and which amounted nearly to 7,000 men before this encounter, had been very daring. On our encampment at Cundapore, which they had continually harraſſed, they proceeded at laſt to make, at two different times, a furious attack. But from this day they were ſtruck with a panick, and never made any conſiderable reſiſtance.

The joy of our army, on their arrival at Huſſain-Gurry, was damped by a proſpect of the

difficulties which they had yet to encounter.—They had upwards of ſixty wounded men, and only thirty doolies, and no proviſions of any kind. The two actions in which they had been engaged, had ſo far expended their muſquet ammunition, that they had not more than what was ſufficient to repleniſh their cartouch boxes: and the fort appeared ſo well built, that they could not entertain any hopes of reducing it with their field-pieces, even if they had been properly ſupplied with ammunition. But all the powder was expended that had been allotted for the amuzette, and about one third of that of the ſix pounders. A general anxiety and indignation againſt the man whoſe imprudence had brought them into this critical ſituation, was loudly reſounded throughout the army.—The General himſelf began to be alarmed, and talked of returning on his ſteps. But conveyance was wanted for the wounded. A retreating army would be cloſely preſſed and harraſſed by the enemy, in a country peculiarly adapted to that mode of fighting: and how was it poſſible for them, in ſuch circumſtances of adverſity, to defend themſelves without ammunition?

In this dilemna, one of the inhabitants of the village of Huſſain-Gurry offered to give an account of the fort for a reward. The General, even

even in his preſent alarming ſituation, is ſaid to have betrayed the ſordid paſſion that predominated in his nature, by reſtraining his bounty on this important occaſion to the pitiful ſum of a ſingle rupee. He was informed that the fort was ſquare, but not ſo ſtrong behind as in front. The General then procured guides, who were to conduct Colonel Macleod, with one diviſion of the army, and Colonel Mackenzie Humberſtone, with another, ſo that they ſhould aſcend the ghaut, and come in rear of the various batteries erected in the great road for its defence, while he himſelf, at the head of a third, ſhould amuſe them in front. But Macleod and Humberſtone having cloſely examined their intended conductors, found that they differed very much in their accounts. The guide appointed to Humberſtone told him, very fairly, that he muſt not be angry with him if he ſhould miſs the road; that he could not be anſwerable for it, though he would undertake to do his beſt.--- Macleod's guide told him nearly the ſame thing; and he found, that inſtead of being brought round to the rear of the batteries by day-break, as was expected by the General, the utmoſt he could hope for would be to reach them in the afternoon of the enſuing day. Beſides the diſcouragement ariſing from their guides, the troops had been under arms from two in the morning

till noon; and though a ſcanty ſupply of rice had been found in the village for thoſe who were off duty, yet they wanted reſt. But a very large proportion of our men had been on duty cloſe under the fort, and had not been refreſhed by either reſt or proviſions. The want of ſubſiſtence was an inſuperable obſtacle to the execution of the General's plan, which was accordingly abandoned. The return of day, by diſcovering a ſecret which the Engliſh Commander ought to have known ſooner, delivered our little army from the moſt painful anxiety and ſuſpence. What they had taken for a fort appeared to be only a barrier thrown acroſs the road, with two ſhort flanks, and that in the rear it had no defence of any kind. In this poſt, which had been deſerted by the enemy at three o'clock in the morning, they found all they wanted: a ſufficient ſupply of muſket ammunition, plenty of rice, and fifteen pieces of very fine artillery. Our troops, being refreſhed by a night's reſt, preſſed onward up the paſs. Colonel Macleod was ſent with his guide through the woods to gain the rear of the batteries, as at firſt propoſed. While one party of our men amuſed the enemy in front, others puſhed through the jungle on each ſide, and at night they found themſelves at the top of the ghaut, a paſs ſo difficult and inacceſſible that it required not for its defence

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the aid of any batteries. A handful of reſolute men might defend it with ſmall arms againſt numbers.

It was exceedingly fortunate that the inability of our men to proceed, from want of proviſions, prevented all attempts to execute the General's plan of gaining the rear of the batteries through bye-ways: for Colonel Macleod, after ſtruggling a great part of the day through impenetrable thickets, and coming, at laſt, to an impaſſable precipice, was told by his guide, that he might hang him if he pleaſed, that he had loſt the road, and could ſay nothing more on the ſubject. The Colonel, with his party, was obliged of courſe to return to Huſſain-Gurry. Here he refreſhed his men with food and four hours ſleep. The battery being by this time in poſſeſſion of our troops, Colonel Macleod marched up the paſs without reſiſtance.

Though our army had now gained the ſummit of the ghaut, and ſo many difficulties and dangers were ſurmounted, yet ſtill the reduction of Bednore remained to be accompliſhed; and this appeared, on reaſonable grounds, to be impoſſible. They had not any battering artillery. Neither their twelve nor their ſix pounders could mount the ghaut, in the ſpace be-

tween the lower and the middle batteries: ſo that even the poſſeſſion of the paſs could not give the command of the country to which it led. But the ſame good fortune that carried them ſafe through ſo many hazards, ſupplied their wants on this critical occaſion. They found, in the upper battery, beſides immenſe magazines, five iron eighteen-pounders and ſeveral braſs field-pieces.

All, however, they have to apprehend, is not yet over. A report prevails, that an army, forty thouſand ſtrong, is advancing towards Hyder-Nagur, under the command of Mahomed-Ally. This force may come up with them before the reduction of that place: and the whole fate of the expedition ſeems yet to tremble on the uncertain iſſue of one deciſive battle.

In theſe circumſtances, to crown the ſeries of our good fortune, behold, in our camp, a meſſenger from the Governor of Bednore, with propoſals of ſurrendering that extenſive and wealthy country, with all its forts and treaſures, of governing it under the Company, and joining their troops for the purpoſe of mutual defence! This voluntary ſurrender of the moſt important town and fortreſs in the enemy's dominions, was chiefly owing to the ſingular merit of an individual

dividual in the Company's ſervice, which well deſerves to be recorded.

Captain Donald Campbell, of the Company's Military Eſtabliſhment at Madras, had arrived from England at Bombay, in March, 1782, and, having taken his paſſage on board a veſſel bound for Fort St. George, was ſhipwrecked on Hyder's coaſt, where nine out of twelve Europeans that were with him, loſt their lives. Campbell, one of the ſurviving three, was made priſoner, ſtripped naked, and marched, in that condition, to the Fort of Hyder-Nagur, where he remained ten months, and four of theſe in irons. During the period of his confinement, he was uſed with lenity or ſeverity, according to the humour of Hyat-Saheb, Hyder's favourite ſon-in-law, and his principal Jemmidar in the Bednore provinces. The Captain had often entertained this man with an account of the ſituation and power of the Britiſh nation, and of the Eaſt India Company in Bengal and Madras, as well as at Bombay, with the view of perſuading him to throw off all ſubordination and allegiance to Tippoo Saib, and depend ſolely on the Engliſh. The Jemmidar, aware that he was a conſtant object of jealouſy and hatred to Tippoo, liſtened to the inſinuations of Campbell with inward ſatisfaction. It was, perhaps, to conceal that ſatisfaction, and to prevent the ſuſpicions to which

his intercourſe with this Engliſh officer might give birth, that he all at once refuſed to ſee him, and loaded him with heavier irons.

Captain Campbell, mean-while, by his fellow-priſoners, the 29th battalion of Madras ſepoys, was informed of the movement of General Mathews's army, but remained in great uncertainty with regard to his own ſafety. On the 26th of January, when Mathews had gained the ſummit of the ghaut, he received an order to appear before the Jemmidar. At the ſame time, he was privately informed that it was intended to put him to death. The Captain, though he gave little credit to this report, being apprehenſive of impriſonment at Seringapatnam, availed himſelf of the aſſiſtance of the reporter, who was a perſon of diſtinction, to effect his eſcape. But, ſoon after he was at liberty, he began to reflect on the different converſations that paſſed between himſelf and Hyat-Saheb, his treatment of him previous to the time when he threw him in irons, the death of Hyder, the character of Tippoo-Saib, the information he had received concerning the mutual jealouſy that ſubſiſted between the Jemmidar and the Sultan, the nature of the government, which admitted of ſudden revolution, the ſituation and

diſpoſition of the natives, and other circumſtances. Under the influence of theſe conſiderations, as well as thoſe of his own undermined conſtitution and unpromiſing views, both at home and in India, Captain Campbell embraced the generous reſolution of returning back, at all hazards, and endeavouring to draw over the Governor of Bednore to the intereſts of the Engliſh. He accordingly returned to the fort, put himſelf under the power of the Jemmidar, and fortunately perſuaded him to make an offer to General Mathews, of delivering up Hyder-Nagur, with all the other forts, and the whole diſtrict of Bednore, under his charge, to the Eaſt India Company, and acting as their friend and ſervant, on condition of being continued in his preſent ſituation, with the ſame authority which he had enjoyed under Hyder. To theſe propoſals, of which Captain Campbell was the bearer, the General immediately agreed. The Captain returned inſtantly to Hyder-Nagur, and with the aſſiſtance of the Carnatic ſepoys, priſoners at large, many of whom he formerly knew, in order to prevent thoſe tumults which often ariſe in moments of important deciſion and change from ſudden conſternation and repentance, ſeized the arſenal, the powder-magazines, and the gates of the fortreſs. By ten o'clock in the morning of the 28th of January, Brigadier-General

General Mathews, with the 100th regiment and two battalions of ſepoys, took peaceable poſſeſſion of Hyder-Nagur, the principal ſeat of Hyder-Ally's wealth, power, and ſplendour.—The fort was occupied by a party of ſepoys; the reſt of the troops were encamped under the walls,

The Jemmidar, after this, gave orders that the dependent forts ſhould be delivered up to the Engliſh forces. Of theſe, the greater part obeyed the ſummons: Mangalore, Deckull, and Ananpore, were ſurrendered, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The fortreſs of Ananpore, having firſt violated the rules of war, by detaining our flags of truce, and ſending them off priſoners, after a practicable breach was made, on the 14th of February, 1783, ſtood the ſtorm. All who reſiſted were ſacrificed to the rules of war, to the amount of about three hundred men. Our next attack was made againſt Mangalore. Ruſtan-Ally-Beg, the Commandant, endeavoured to rouſe his people to defend a breach, made on the 9th of March. They refuſed to obey him, and he was obliged to ſurrender. Ruſtan-Ally was hanged, by orders of the Sultan. Deckull was taken by ſtorm, on the 7th of April, by a detachment under the command of Lieutenant Dun.

As theſe ſucceſſes diſplayed, in the moſt ſtriking manner, the influence of fortune, ſo what follows will ſhew with equal force, that there can be no permanent proſperity or real glory without prudence. General Mathews weakened his ſmall force by diſperſion, alienated the affections and the confidence of his own men, and inſtead of eſtabliſhing himſelf in the hearts of thoſe who had yielded to his arms, treated them with neglect, and even ſtudied inſult. He neither returned thanks to the officers and men for their diſtinguiſhed valour, nor adhered to the terms of capitulation which he had made with Hyat-Saheb, whom he pillaged, inſulted, and irritated. Of the immenſe treaſure found in Hyder-Nagur he defrauded the army, on pretence that it was the private property of the Governor, and appropriated it ſolely to himſelf. Captain Campbell, in negotiating the terms of ſurrender, obtained a ſecret promiſe from Mathews that, out of the money found in the fort, the ſum of 12,000 pagodas ſhould be given to one of the Mahomedan Commander's favourites. This promiſe was violated. The whole treaſure, computed at various amounts, from one to three hundred thouſand pounds, was ſent to Cundapore. It was delivered to Captain Mathews, brother to the General, in order to be remitted from Goa to Europe. Captain Mathews was afterwards taken priſoner,

priſoner, and put to death by the enemy: and, from circumſtances that have ſince appeared, it is probable that the enemy alſo became maſters of the wealth with which he had been entruſted.

Detachments from the army were ſent to occupy every village and every mud fort. Nor were theſe detachments made by detail, or in any regular manner; ſo that all was in confuſion, as the officers were not able to account for their men. The Engliſh garriſon in Hyder-Nagur did not now exceed three hundred Europeans and a thouſand ſepoys.

Tippoo Saib's army, conſiſting of fifty thouſand men, with twenty-five pieces of cannon, came upon this ſmall force on the 9th of April, drove in a detachment ſtationed at Fattiput, four miles diſtant, and having taken the town of Bednore, with a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, which no precaution had been taken to lay up in the magazines, cloſely beſieged the fort. Two ſorties made upon the aſſailants with greater ſpirit than judgment produced not any conſequences of importance. The Engliſh diminiſhed in their numbers by diſeaſes, as well the ſword, unprovided with caſemates, their proviſions exhauſted, and their ammunition expended, were, on the 26th of April, reduced to

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the neceſſity of capitulation. Honourable terms were promiſed to them; and on the ſecond of May, they marched out with the honours of war, grounded their arms at a conſiderable diſtance from the fort, and began to prepare for to-morrow's march to Sadaſhagur, upon the coaſt of Malabar, where, according to the articles of capitulation, they were to embark for Bombay or Tellicherry. But they were ſuddenly ſurrounded by a large body of troops, and ſuffered the treatment that has already been deſcribed. Tippoo ſaid, that our army had forfeited their claim to be ſet at liberty, by a breach of the articles of capitulation, in embezzling and ſecreting the public money, which was all to be delivered up. The ſufferings of theſe men have been impiouſly conſidered by fantaſtical ſpirits as viſitations of Providence: while others of undoubted liberality of ſentiment, (for who will not allow the conductors of the Annual Regiſter to be ſuch?) miſled by erroneous accounts from India, have repreſented them as the natural, if not the judicial conſequences of their own enormities. The ſurviving officers of the unfortunate army, fired with indignation at theſe reproaches, publiſhed in conc[illegible] ſatisfactory vindication of their conduct. But, in this Apology, they are obliged to arraign the exaggerations, abſurdities, and lies of a certain young man of their own

own orders; and thus they make, at once, their own defence, and that of the publication of which they complain.

The diſcontents that prevailed on account of the arbitrary and diſtracted meaſures purſued by General Mathews, particularly at his refuſal to divide any part of the ſpoils of Bednore with his officers and ſoldiers, were ſo great, that, ſoon after the reduction of that city, the Colonels Macleod and Humberſtone, with Major Shaw, left the army, and went ſtraight to Bombay, to lay the matters of which they complained before the Governor and Council. Their repreſentations were ſo well ſupported, and the conduct of General Mathews ſo flagrantly unjuſt, and abſurd, that the Bombay Government immediately ſuperſeded him, and appointed Colonel Macleod, the next in command, Brigadier-General and Commander in Chief in his ſtead. The new General, with Colonel Humberſtone and Major Shaw, on their return in the Ranger ſhow, to join the army, on the 27th of April, off Geriah, fell in with the Mahratta fleet, conſiſting of five ſail of ſquare-rigged veſſels. Peace had been agreed on and proclaimed at Bombay before the departure of the Ranger, though the Mahrattas did not know of it. The Mahratta fleet accordingly, without ceremony, and with an

an impetuoſity which precluded an eclairciſſement, attacked the Ranger moſt furiouſly. The battle was moſt obſtinate: nor did it cloſe till almoſt every man in the Engliſh ſhip was killed or wounded. Among the former was Major Shaw, of the 100th regiment; and among the latter, Brigadier General Macleod, Colonel Humberſtone, and Lieut. J. Taylor, a man diſtinguiſhed by the ſweetneſs of his manners, and the generoſity of his diſpoſition. Theſe gentlemen, with the Captain of the ſhip, Pruin, were carried priſoners into Gerah, a port of the Mahrattas, where they remained for ſeveral weeks. Here Colonel Mackenzie Humberſtone died of his wounds, in the 28th year of his age. He expired, it is ſaid, in the arms of his friend Colonel Macleod. An early and habitual converſancy with the heroes of antient as well as modern times, nouriſhed in the mind of Humberſtone a paſſion for military glory, and ſupported him under unremitting application to all thoſe ſtudies and exerciſes by which he might improve himſelf both in mind and body, riſe to honourable diſtinction, and render his name immortal. He was not only acute, but profound and ſteady in his views, gallant without oſtentation, and ſpirited without temerity and imprudence. His untimely and lamented death, in the opinion of ſome, ſeemed to arraign the conduct

duct of the new General, whoſe impatience and high paſſions, it was ſaid, had precipitated him into an action, which, by a proper explanation, might have been avoided. But ſuch explanation the impetuoſity of the attack had rendered it impracticable; and though the defence was deſperate, fighting, in the opinion of Captain Pruin, as appears from his letter on that occaſion to the Goverment of Bombay, ſeemed the only alternative conſiſtent with the honour of a Britiſh ſeaman.

Soon after General Macleod, with his aſſociates, left the army, in order to go to Bombay, Major Campbell, with the 42d regt. was ordered from Bednore to Monbiddry and Carical, two ſmall forts below the ghauts: from whence, on the paſſes of Hyder-Gur and Samſatſha being attacked and carried by Tippoo Sultan, he made a prudent retreat, firſt to Gurpore, where he encamped, and afterwards to Mangalore, where he took the command from Captain Sartorius, who was the Chief Engineer. A body of the enemy, to the number of ſix or ſeven thouſand, having aſſembled in force, on the heights of Coodry, and threatened our foraging parties, it was thought neceſſary to try to diſlodge them.

1783.] On the 6th of May, therefore, before dawn, all the troops in garriſon, (the 4th battalion

battalion of grenadier ſepoys excepted, marched out of Mangalore, together with the firſt battalion of ſepoys, that had arrived on the day before from Bombay, about 1400 men in all, ſurprized the enemy juſt at the dawn, put them immediately into confuſion, killed a conſiderable number of them, and took two braſs and two iron ordnance, three tumbrils, one hundred and eighty-five bullocks, and ſome horſes. Intelligence was now brought that a large army was approaching, and confirmed the melancholy account of the fall of Bednore.——On the 16th, a ſcout of about twenty horſemen appeared; and, on the 17th, a greater body reconnoitred the heights of Coodry, the field of action of the 6th inſtant. There, on the next day, part of their army encamped, and were augmented daily till the 20th; when they drove in our picquets, and made themſelves maſters of part of the town, while our troops defended the other part of it with four guns and a part of the 100th regiment. The firſt and eighth battalions of ſepoys, ſtationed on a hill, 1200 yards diſtant, were, on the morning of the 23d, attacked, nearly ſurrounded, and hard purſued to the gates of Mangalore. In this purſuit, two of our officers, a Captain and an Enſign, were killed, two ſubalterns wounded and taken, and three Serjeants, with about three hundred black troops,

killed and miſſing. The whole coaſt now acknowledged its former maſter; Mangalore, with its dependencies, Onore, and the ſmall fort of Carawar, only excepted. Leaving, for the preſent, Mangalore cloſely inveſted by Tippoo Saib, let us now return to the Carnatic, where our army, relieved from the preſſure of Tippoo's arms, began to act with greater effect than formerly, as well as with greater freedom.

The Engliſh army under the command of Major-General Stuart, was drawn out in full force, conſiſting of about nineteen hundred Europeans and eleven thouſand ſepoys, from their cantonments around Madras, and encamped, with 1783.] the whole field artillery, on the 2d of January, at the Mount, but ſcarcely with the means of carrying rice and proviſions for ten days. To this force two powerful enemies were oppoſed in the Carnatic, and a third, which was expected to arrive from Europe, under the Marquis de Buſſy, threatened a deſcent on the Company's northern Circars. The Myſoreans, under the command of Tippoo Saib, in perſon, were ſtrengthened by a large body of French troops, commanded by Brigadier-General Monſieur de Hauſſiſſe; and Monſ. de Suffrein, with the French ſquadron, conſiſting of ten ſail of the line and two frigates, in order to favour the intended

intended invaſion of the northern provinces by the Marquis de Bufſy, had taken poſt to the north of both Madras and Maſſulipatam. In this critical ſituation of public affairs, General Stuart, then in the Chief Command of the troops, thought fit to preſent his plan both for the defence of the Circars, and for the immediate operations of the Carnatic main army: this plan is on record, and was adopted by the Madras Government. Two Carnatic battalions, with all the Europeans in the Circars, amounting to about four hundred effective men, were added to the force near Maſſulipatam, under the command of Colonel Jones. The guns and ſtores at Vizagapatam were divided between Ganjam and Maſſulipatam, and magazines of grain were formed and ſecured at proper places to the northward. The happy conſequences reſulting from the compact and connected poſition of the main army near the Preſidency at this criſis, was very ſenſibly felt, as meaſures for the general operations of the army the beſt ſuited to all probable contingencies, were thus deliberately adopted, without danger of interruption from the enemy: for, ſoon after Sir Eyre Coote's return to Bengal, there had ariſen great differences in the Committee of Council at Madras, between the Preſident, Lord Macartney, and the Commander in Chief, General Stuart: the former

being of opinion that no greater number of troops was neceſſary in the Carnatic than what might ſerve as an army of obſervation; the latter inſiſting, that unleſs the army could be kept together, to oppoſe our foes in the field, every garriſon and every place of ſtrength, would undoubtedly, in a ſhort time, fall into the hands of the enemy. The Civil Governor deemed it moſt adviſeable, after the unproductive marches and indeciſive victories of Sir Eyre Coote, to divide the troops by different detachments, for the purpoſe of ſeparate and diſtant enterprizes. The Military Commander, who conſidered Tippoo Saib, and all the native powers in India, as only in the ſecond rank of enemies, determined to break the ſtrength of our European foes in Aſia, in the firſt place, confident that the power and influence of Great Britain in that quarter of the world would be quickly re-eſtabliſhed on their ruins. And, until the French * ſhould be expelled from poſts of ſtrength or commerce in India, he conſidered all places at any diſtance from the coaſt, Vellore only excepted, as ſcarcely worth the expence of garriſons.—Much time was conſumed in diſſentions of this ſort,

* The French force in India, at this time, and before the arrival of the Marquis de Buſſy, conſiſted of 2000 Europeans, 300 Caffres, 25 gunners and artificers, and about 2500 ſepoys, in the pay of France.

ſort, betwixt the Civil Governor and Military Commander, with which the Company's records are ſaid to be filled; and the General ſeems to have had more difficulties to ſtruggle with in the Madras Committee than he found in defeating the plans and views of the united powers of the French and Myſoreans in the field, though ſo happily, at laſt effected.

1783.] During the month of January, the General remained encamped in full force, and in certain poſitions, where he watched the movements of both the French and Tippoo, determined to embrace any opportunity that might ariſe of bringing them to action; and thus, while he detained the main united ſtrength of the enemy, who were hourly expecting the arrival of M. de Buſſy, Colonel Lang was alſo left at liberty to act in the ſouthern provinces; and our operations on the Malabar ſide of India, where the ſucceſſor of Hyder was chiefly vulnerable, were left unembarraſſed. If the French ſhould land, as expected, under Mont. de Buſſy, a force had been aſſembled in the Circars, in a central ſituation, ſufficient to oppoſe them ſingly; and if the united force of the French and Myſoreans ſhould move to the northward, for the ſupport of Monſ. de Buſſy, our

army would be ready to move in that direction, in order to impede a junction.

The intelligence that was received of the deſigns of the French, and the general ſituation of affairs on the coaſt, rendered it expedient to demoliſh the forts of Carangooly and Vandewaſh, and to withdraw the garriſons. The meaſure, it was naturally imagined, might be attended with the collateral advantage of bringing the enemy to action, who were then aſſembled at a ſmall diſtance from Vandewaſh. The army, in purſuance of theſe deſigns, on the 5th of February, encamped on the ſouthern banks of the Palar, beyond Chingleput, and above forty miles from Madras. On the morning of the 6th, they took up their ground at Carangooly, and afterwards moved, on the 9th, to Vandewaſh, where they encamped. In a few days, the demolition of theſe places was effected, and the garriſons and ſtores withdrawn. During the interval between the commencement and completion of the total demolition of Vandewaſh, the combined forces of the French and Myſoreans were dared to battle, which they declined, and afterwards retired with precipitation from the ground.

The

The General having returned, on the 25th
1783] of February, to Madras, employed his care and attention in laying in a ſufficient ſtock of rice at Vellore. This important place was then within a few days of being in abſolute want.—From this ſervice, began on the 3d of March, the General returned to the Preſidency on the 20th of the ſame month.

At this time, certain intelligence was received, that Monſ. de Buſſy * had been ſome days at Cuddalore; and that he had brought with him a force of 2,200 regular troops of France, beſides 1,000 Caffres from the iſlands. And, on the 25th of March, two French ſhips of the line and frigates had then actually blocked up the port of Madras, with a view to intercept the trade and ſupplies. From this period, the General was wholly employed in the preparations neceſſary for taking the field. The great object he had in view was to attack and overthrow the whole body of the French army at Cuddalore, and ſeize their train of artillery and ſtores, as ſoon as the co-operation of his Majeſty's ſquadron ſhould afford a rational hope of being able to carry his deſigns into execution. Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes having returned from Bom-

* This is the ſame gentleman mentioned in Mr. Orme's Hiſtory.

bay to Madras, or the 13th of April, and declared his readineſs to co-operate with the army in any meaſures for diſtreſſing the enemy, General Stuart, after employing all the army carriage in ſending forward a proviſion of rice, left Madras on the 19th of April, in the evening, and, next morning, joined the army at Taumarum.

The grand lines of the plan on which the General determined to conduct this campaign, appear to have been thoſe—In order to drive the French with expedition, and with the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs, either to the ſea, or inward into the center of the Myſore country, the moſt important object, at that criſis, which could occupy his mind, he endeavoured to unite the efforts of the fleet with the main army under his own command, and the field force in the provinces ſouthward of the Coleroon, in one ſyſtem of co-operation againſt Cuddalore. It was accordingly reſolved, in a committee of the Council of Madras, on the 17th of April, that General Stuart ſhould be empowered to order Colonel Lang, the officer commanding in thoſe provinces, with the principal part of his forces, to join the main army. The mode in which the fleet might beſt co-operate with the army, the General conceived, would be, to keep a ſteady eye on Monſ. de

de Suffrein, to conduct the proviſion and ſtore-ſhips as far as Cuddalore, and then to leave them with ſuch frigates as the Admiral could ſpare. The rice for which means of carriage might be wanting, was to be depoſited in poſts, as the army ſhould advance; whoſe movements were to be regulated as nearly as poſſible, by the time of Sir Edward Hughes getting to his ſtation off Trincomalée, ſo as to be in ſight of the French ſquadron there, and of Captain Halliday in the Iſis, with the ſtore-ſhips and reinforcements appearing to the ſouth of Cuddalore: while the preciſe route which the army was to take on paſſing Pondicherry, to occupy their ultimate poſition at Cuddalore, was kept a ſecret by the General, even from the Preſident and Committee of the Madras Council.

The Commander in Chief, for months previous to the march of the army in April, repeatedly informed both Colonel Lang and Colonel Fullarton (the firſt and ſecond in the ſouthern command) of the general plan for the campaign againſt the French at Cuddalore, and his own expectations of their co-operation. The unavoidable uncertainty with regard to the preciſe time when the Britiſh fleet, or the Iſis and ſtore-ſhips, could get to their ſtations, put it out of his power to be more particular as to the time

when

when it might be neceſſary for the ſouthern force to croſs the Coleroon, to form a junction with his army: the General therefore, in the end of April, wrote to the Commanding Officer of the ſouthern force, that he ſhould not, on account of that co-operation, give up any attainable object of conqueſt about which he was *actually* employed—that his wiſh was for him to ſucceed in whatever he had then *in hand*, and afterwards to co-operate with him for the greateſt of all national ſervices.

In purſuance of this plan, the army under the command of General Stuart proceeded on their march, from their camp in the neighbourhood of Madras, towards Cuddalore, on the 21ſt day

1783.] of April. One of the brigades had moved on two days march in advance, and was at Parmacoil, in ſight of the French advanced poſt, upon the 26th of April. The General's plan [illegible] communicated to the Madras Govern[illegible], to remain nearly in that poſition until he could be informed concerning Sir Edward Hughes's movements, and thoſe of the proviſion and ſtore-ſhips leaving Madras road; and, in the mean time, that the immediate wants of the army ſhould be ſupplied from the ſtores at Chingleput and the Preſidency.

At

At Chingleput, where they halted for a few days, they were informed that Sir Eyre Coote died at Madras, on the 26th of April, being the third day after his arrival from Calcutta. The ſhip that carried him was chaced for five days by French cruizers. This circumſtance, it is thought, operating with too forcible an impreſſion on his mind, which was lofty and prone to irritation, was that which brought on the third and mortal ſtroke of the palſy, which terminated his life, ſpent in the purſuit of military glory, without pain and without a groan.

From various circumſtances, and particularly the time requiſite for taking in a ſufficient proviſion of water, it was the 2d of May before the Admiral ſet ſail to the ſouthward from Madras: and, on the 17th the Britiſh fleet, in conſequence of adverſe winds and currents, had not proceeded farther than ſix leagues ſouth-eaſt of Conjimeer. Capt. Halliday, in the Iſis, with the ſtore-ſhips, having on board Major-General Bruce, with the neceſſary reinforcements for the operations at Cuddalore, did not leave the roads of Madras until the 14th of May. Before the commencement of ſuch operations, it was of the laſt importance, that thoſe ſhips ſhould be within the reach of our army. It was alſo of importance, that the intentions of the Engliſh Commander, with regard

to

to that part of Cuddalore against which his attack was to be directed, should be concealed from the French as long as possible; for, had our General taken up his ultimate ground before the arrival of the provision and store-ships and reinforcements, those intentions must have been prematurely discovered. The General, therefore, continued, according to his original plan, to regulate his movements by those of our naval force and convoy: and, it so happened, that the Isis having appeared in sight on the 6th, and anchored at her fixed destination, south of Cuddalore, on the 7th of June, on that very day General Stuart took up his ultimate ground on the land side south of Cuddalore. On the evening of the 8th Major General Bruce and Colonel Wangenheim, with the Hanoverians and other European troops, to the number of 800 men, disembarked from Captain Hallidays convoy, and marched to camp. Even after this junction the French army in possession of Cuddalore contained a greater number of regular European forces than that under the command of General Stuart; though not above half the number of native troops. It became the General's object to drive the enemy from such parts of the Bound-hedge, as might be necessary for commencing his approaches, and to force them to take shelter under the guns of Cuddalore,

lore, if not within the place itſelf. Though the out-ſentries of the different armies were ſo near as that they might ſpeak together, he avoided all ſlight ſkirmiſhing, determined, in one vigorous and well-concerted attack to effect his purpoſe. He made the diſpoſition, and gave out the general orders for driving all the French out-poſts under the guns of Cuddalore, on the 12th of June. The attack was to begin preciſely at day-break next morning.

Lieutenant Colonel Kelly, with a brigade of native troops, and one hundred and eighty Europeans, marched, about midnight, without artillery, by a foot-path unknown to the French, which led to the rear of the work on their right hand, on the Vanny-Pollam Hills. To ſeize this poſt was the firſt and leading object in the General's plan of operations. The European grenadiers, about three hundred rank and file, and the 73d regiment, about two hundred, with two battalions of ſepoys, covered by the fire of a battery of ſix eighteen pounders, under Colonel Elliot of the Bengal Eſtabliſhment, were to wait the ſucceſs of Colonel Kelly, and ſtorm the intrenchments to the enemy's right. The ſucceſs of this attempt was to be immediately followed by aſſaults on their left and center, ſupported by the Hanoverians and reſerve.

On

1783.] On the 13th of June, accordingly, as the day began to dawn, a cannonade from the eighteen pounders, and from ſome field-pieces, brought up by Major Mackay, of the Madras Eſtabliſhment, opened from commanding heights upon the works to the enemy's right. The column under Lieutenant Colonel Kelly appeared at the ſame inſtant in their rear. They were ſtruck with terror and ſurprize, fled from their ſtrong poſts on the Vandy-Pollam Hills, and retired in confuſion to their ſecond work, leaving two ſix pounders, and ſeveral guns, to be poſſeſſed by our men on the intrenched ground below. The eminence upon which the eighteen pounders were placed, was choſen by the Commander in Chief for his own ſtation, from whence the ſignals were to be made, according to varying and unforeſeen circumſtances.

Our troops advanced againſt the enemy thro' a deep ſand. The intended attack on the enemy's right, conſiſting of the grenadiers and picquets of our left, under Colonel Stewart and Lieut. Colonel Cathcart, was reſiſted by ſuch a powerful fire from the enemy, that Colonel Stewart, with great judgement, retired to a poſt where he might be covered, until, upon reconnoitering, a further diſpoſition could be taken to approach the enemy. He ſent a report of his ſitu-

ſituation in a note to the General; who, upon certain information juſt then received, that the redoubt which principally annoyed them was unfiniſhed, and acceſſible in the rear, gave orders for the grenadiers and the reſerve on our right, to cloſe upon the enemy in front; and alſo to Major-Gen. Bruce, to advance with the troops under his command, in the ſame direction. Theſe new diſpoſitions were communicated to Col. Stewart, with orders to enter in the rear of the redoubt, whenever any occaſion ſhould offer. Sufficient time was allowed for carrying theſe orders, on a certain ſignal being given, into execution. The concentrated efforts of the diviſions of our army, juſt mentioned, according to this new arrangement, were crowned with ſucceſs. For, while the French were purſuing ſome temporary advantage which they obtained over part of the reſerve, the grenadiers and 73d regiment, under Lieut. Colonel Catchcart and Major Lamont, ſupported by the picquets under Colonel Stewart, turned the rear of the French unfiniſhed redoubt. This movement threw the French into confuſion, and fixed the fortune of the day in favour of the Engliſh. The evening, which broke on the engagement, left the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of the Vandy-Pollam Hills, the enemy's ſecond works, and about twenty pieces of their cannon.

In

In contemplating this ſcene, one of the hotteſt that had happened in the courſe of the war, we are not a little ſtruck with that preſence of mind which appeared in the conduct of General Stuart, and that cool courage which was diſplayed by the troops under his command: the former changing the diſpoſition of the attack, according to circumſtances, in the heat of the action; the latter waiting in ſilence for their General's commands, and, on the ſignal given, carrying his new orders into punctual execution. Of our officers 25 were killed, and 48 wounded. Of the privates about 200 were killed, and 700 wounded. Among the gallant individuals, loſt to their friends and the public ſervice on that memorable day, were, Captain Walter Douglas, Captain Peter Campbell, Captain Lindſay, and Major Varrenius, of the Hanoverians.

During the night of the 13th, the Engliſh lay upon their arms, expecting that the enemy, who knew the fatigued ſtate of our troops, would attempt to recover, by an attack in the night, the ground they had loſt in the action of the day. This meaſure was in fact ſtrongly recommended in a Council of War, by almoſt all their officers: but the old and infirm Marquis Buſſy, who began now to contemplate objects

objects through the miſt of age, and ſaw only the hazards againſt himſelf, cautiouſly carried off every thing, while it was dark, within the walls of Cuddalore. Nothing more material than the common operations of breaking ground, came to paſs for three days.

But the ſea, on the 17th, preſented a moſt intereſting ſpectacle, both to the enemy and our army. It was Sir Edward Hughes and Monſ. Suffrein, manœuvring with the Engliſh and French fleets. Suffrein, with fifteen ſail of ſhips, half of them in very bad condition, made a ſhew of an intention to attack Sir Edward, who, with eighteen ſail of coppered ſhips, (but their crews greatly debilitated by ſickneſs) lay at anchor, covering the operations of the army. The next day, Hughes was out of ſight, and before night, Suffrein rode at anchor in the roads of Cuddalore, the ſtation that the Engliſh Admiral had abandoned. Monſ. de Suffrein, with a reinforcement of men from the French garriſon, ſtood out to ſea on the 18th, and, after an engagement with the Britiſh ſquadron on the 20th, regained the roads of Cuddalore on the 23d of June. The Engliſh Admiral, quitting his ſtation to windward of the French, ſailed for Madras, for a ſupply, it was given out, of water: although General Stuart is ſaid to have written to the Admiral in

in different ways, informing him, that he had occupied Porto Novo with a proper force; that both there and at Chillumbrum, which had been opportunely poſſeſſed by our troops, on the eve of the 12th of June, there was entire ſafety and conveniency for watering; and that he could ſupply the fleet with freſh proviſions. While Sir Edward Hughes purſued his voyage to Madras, Monſ. de Suffrein, with fifteen ſail of the line, beſides frigates, lay at anchor, cloſe to Cuddalore, where he landed, on the 24th, a reinforcement of 2,200 men, which included 1,200 Europeans and natives that had been lent to him from the garriſon of Cuddalore, on the 18th of June. In this ſituation, ſo favourable for the French, and ſo alarming to our army, a large body of French regulars and other troops, in a ſortie from Cuddalore, on the morning of the 25th of June, while it was yet dark, attacked the out-poſts of our army. Our troops, though weakened by battle and ſevere duty, were not unprepared for them; and they were beat back with loſs and diſgrace. Colonel Gordon commanded in the trenches, aſſiſted by Colonel Cathcart, who, with his grenadiers, ſupported and repelled every alarm. We loſt Major Cotgrave, with about ſeventy men killed and wounded; the French, about three hundred: and their Commandant, a Colonel, was taken priſoner.

Colonel

Colonel Stewart, and all the officers, received the General's animated thanks for the ſucceſs of our arms. The whole army on this, as on other occaſions, admired the blooming virtues of Colonel Cathcart, who united martial courage with military ſkill, and the proper pride of family, with that modeſty which becomes a fellow-citizen of a free country.

Although it be the object of theſe Memoirs to record facts, not intentions, yet it may not be thought either improper or uninſtructive here to relate a plan of co-operation propoſed by Monſ. de Suffrein to Monſ. de Buſſy; though, being rejected by the latter, it was never carried into execution. After Sir Edward Hughes quitted his ſtation to the windward, and ſailed for Madras, Monſ. de Suffrein propoſed to the French General, to land a great force near Cuddalore, in the night of the 23d of June, and then, with his empty ſhips, to make a ſhew of an intention to attack Porto Novo the next morning. The Engliſh Admiral, he aſſured him, with his utmoſt efforts, would not be able, on account of oppoſing tides and currents, to regain his ſtation off Cuddalore, within the ſpace of eight and forty hours at ſooneſt. In the mean time, the Engliſh General, by the feint propoſed, would be drawn to the defence of Porto Novo, on the poſſeſſion of which he depended

for ſtores and proviſions. And the French troops, landed ſecretly from the ſhips, might take poſſeſſion of the works abandoned by the Engliſh. Monſ. de Buſſy, who entertained the higheſt opinion, it is ſaid, of the vigilance and penetration of his antagoniſt, conſidered this ſtratagem as too hazardous to be carried into execution.

The French General, who knew the ſtate of our army, determined to make a new and more vigorous ſally. It was to conſiſt of 5,000 Europeans, and to be made on the 4th of July. The ſituation of the Engliſh General was now the fulleſt that could be imagined of vexation, anxiety, and alarm. In two eſſential branches of his original plan, he had been diſappointed. The enemy's force had increaſed, and was ſtill increaſing. He was deſerted by Sir Edward Hughes, unſupported by the ſouthern army, threatened by the poſition of the French fleet with want of neceſſary ſtores, and within half a gun ſhot of ten thouſand European enemies. The General, in repeated letters to the Preſidency of Madras, had brought to their recolleſtion the original object of the campaign, and uſed the ſtrongeſt arguments for deſiſting, at the preſent criſis, from all attempts of inland diverſion towards the ſouth-weſt; and preſſing with

with the whole weight of our arms in the Carnatic, on the French at Cuddalore. The proportion of native troops, he ſtated, with the main army, in ſuch an extenſive circuit as the bounds of Cuddalore, was not ſufficient to intercept the enemies ſupplies, much leſs to afford detachments to cover the watering of the fleet. The ſeparate operations of the ſouthern force, intended to draw Tippoo from the intereſting objects which occupied him on the other ſide of India, had hitherto proved, and, if it ſhould not be conſiderably ſtrengthened, muſt continue to prove ineffectual. Hyder-Nagur and the province of Bednore, the original object of that force, were recoverd by the enemy: and with regard to a diverſion of Tippoo's army from Mangalore, there was not a more probable way of effecting that object, than to increaſe the apprehenſions of the French for their own ſafety; and under ſuch apprehenſions it was natural to ſuppoſe, they would exert their whole influence with Tippoo to come himſelf, or to ſend a ſufficient force towards Cuddalore, againſt which, according to the General's plan, our whole combined force was to operate. Theſe, with other arguments, were urged in vain. Even ſo late as the 17th of 1783.] June, the unfortunate day when Monſ. de Suffrein, with the whole fleet of France in

India, by maſterly manœuvres gained the roads of Cuddalore: on that very day did the Government of Madras ſign and tranſmit their moſt poſitive commands to the officer then in the command of the ſouthern army to continue inland operations, and to diſregard all prior or future orders from the General, to the contrary, unleſs ſanctioned by their approbation. But Colonel Fullarton, informed of the action of the 13th of June, and of the reſpective ſituations of the French and Engliſh fleets, marched with perfect propriety towards the Commander in Chief, though under the ſanction of a letter from the Select Committee, ordering him to move in a contrary direction, he might have purſued a more tempting career in another quarter. The Colonel had arrived within three forced marches of General Stuart's camp, when, on receiving intelligence that all hoſtilities had ceaſed with France, and that a general peace had taken place in Europe, he returned to the ſouthward. Above half the Engliſh army at Cuddalore marched to reinforce that which was commanded by Colonel Fullarton in Tanjore. The remainder encamped on the 27th of July, at the Mount.

A negotiation for peace was now carried on with Tippoo Saib, who, flushed with the retreat of one

one Engliſh army on the coaſt of Malabar, and the capture of another, was at this time employed, as above related, in the ſiege of Mangalore, the deſperate defence of which, conducted by the gallant Colonel Campbell, will probably be conſidered by future hiſtorians as the moſt brilliant ſcene in the whole courſe of this war. The ſucceſſes of Colonel Campbell ſprung wholly from the reſources of his own manly and perſevering ſpirit. Though, from a combination of misfortune, and miſmanagement on the part of others, this intrepid officer was left to his fate, he did not capitulate before his faithful garriſon were reduced to their laſt pint of rice; or before they had fed on the putrid carcaſes of animals held in averſion and horror; or before a large force, ſent to their aid from Bombay, had anchored before Mangalore, tantalizing the garriſon, for three days, with the deluſive hope of effectual relief!

Mangalore is the chief place of ſtrength, and commands the beſt harbour in Canara. It is ſituated in the thirteenth degree of north latitude, at the conflux of two rivers, which diſembogue themſelves into the ſea under the muzzles of its guns. At this place it is about half a mile wide, and, within the bar, forms a ſpacious harbour for ſhips of five hundred tons. The fort, which is nearly ſquare, is built of ſtone. It has three

towers, with very thin and weak battlements; and artillery is mounted on each of its ſides, which face the four cardinal points. On the weſt ſide, next the ſea, there is an oblong addition to the fort, on very low ground, reaching the whole length of that ſide, with four circular turrets and guns. The fort of Mangalore has a pretty good ditch, except to the eaſtward, where about ſixty feet of the rock was not cut through; and round the covered way there are eight towers, with artillery mounted on each of them. The ditch is not wet towards the north-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt quarters; and, in ſummer, even the weſtern part of the ditch becomes almoſt dry. It would exceed the limits within which it has been thought proper to confine theſe Memoirs, to enter into a detail of the ſiege of this fortreſs. Let it ſuffice, for the preſent, if we ſtate the force that was brought againſt it, that by which it was defended, and ſome of the principal actions and occurrences, which may ſerve to convey an idea of the reſources, both of the beſiegers and beſieged.

The force that now inveſted Mangalore conſiſted in 60,000 horſe; 30,000 diſciplined ſepoys; 600 French infantry, under the command of Colonel Coſſigny; Monſ. Lally's corps, compoſed of Europeans and natives; a French troop of

of European diſmounted cavalry, under the command of Monſ. Boodena, an officer in the French ſervice; many thouſands of irregulars, and near 100 pieces of artillery. The whole of this vaſt army amounted to 140,000 fighting men. The front of their encampment extended, from right to left, three miles: and parties were ſtationed upon and behind the adjacent hills. They were commanded by Tippoo-Sultan in perſon. His brother, Kirrum-Saib, and Mahomed-Ally Khan, one of his father's moſt truſted commanders and confidential friends, were alſo preſent.

The ſtrength of our garriſon was compoſed of 696 Europeans, including 91 officers, and 2,850 black troops, amounting in all to 3,546 fighting men, beſides pioneers and camp followers.

The enemy broke ground on the north ſide of the fort, and by the 27th of May com- [1783. pleated eleven embraſures. A party of our men went out to deſtroy this work, and to ſpike their guns, but were repulſed. On the 29th, the garriſon was aſtoniſhed with vollies of large ſtones, ſome of them weighing 150 pounds. The ſtones were affixed to wooden plugs or ſtoppers, fitted, and by means of a ſledge, forced tightly into the calibres or chaſes of mortars. They generally fell within

within the fort, being directed with great preciſion. When they met not with any reſiſtance, their velocity, accelerated by the height from which they fell, buried them in the earth.—Where they were oppoſed by any body harder than themſelves, they were daſhed into a thouſand pieces. There was no ſhelter for our troops from theſe terrible annoyances. Their noiſe in the night was dreadful, and their effects often horrid, and always fatal. Thoſe who were ſtruck by them in the body, were cut off by a ſudden, and of courſe, an eaſy death: but the unfortunate ſufferers who were cruſhed by them in their extremities, often lingered in excruciating pain for ſeveral days. Some amputations were performed: but there was not ſo much as one inſtance of recovery. The ſtones alſo deſtroyed the roofs of huts and houſes, for which materials were wanting to repair them: a circumſtance, in the height of a monſoon, truly deplorable. A conſtant and heavy cannonade was kept up from the batteries erected on the north, on the eaſt, and on the ſouth. On the evening of the 4th of June, the whole north face of the fort, with its towers, was entirely diſmantled. A few days after, a practicable breach was effected in the wall, which, it was expected, the enemy would ſtorm; eſpecially as they had rejected with diſdain a flag of truce. In vain did the

the Engliſh repel with the bayonet, repeated attacks on batteries conſtructed on commanding ground without, but near the fortreſs: in vain they ſilenced the batteries of the enemy, and ſpiked their braſs mortars and guns. New touch-holes were drilled with incredible expedition. Thoſe deſtructive machines were played anew, in triumph: maſked batteries were opened: the approaches of the enemy were brought ſo near, that they threw faſcines on our covered way and the edge of the glacis; and at length, repeated ſummonſes of ſurrender being treated by the Colonel with contempt and defiance, they determined, on the 4th of July, to ſtorm the breach which had been practicable ever ſince the 7th of June. A body of their troops, armed with couteaus, two feet long, of the ſhape of pruning hooks, and with ſpears mounted on light bamboos, fourteen feet and an half in length, ſallied from their trenches, and ruſhed into the tower on the left of the outer eaſtern gate, while the guns that had played againſt that tower, were directed elſewhere, but ſtill kept up their firing. Their whole line was now in motion, preſſing on to ſupport the party that had penetrated into the tower, and gained an adjacent rampart. But, after a ſhort ſtruggle, in which Captain Bowles of the artillery was killed by a random ſhot, they were forced

forced to retreat. Lieutenant Ralſton, who had the charge of the eaſtern gate, on ſeeing the ſepoy guard give way, attacked them vigorouſly, and, after a ſhort but ſevere conflict, in which he himſelf was ſeverely, and two of his men mortally wounded, repulſed them with the bayonet. This officer received public thanks for his active gallantry on this occaſion. This attempt on the part of the enemy, was returned on the 6th of July, by a ſally from us, of thirty men, into a lodgement they had made in our works, oppoſite to the gate and tower juſt mentioned, which drove them back. This drew out the enemy from their camp, to a general attack on our northern covered way, which was reſolutely and gallantly aſſaulted, but with ſuperior gallantry and reſolution defended againſt freſh troops and ſuperior numbers.

In this action, one of the hotteſt during the ſiege, we loſt ſome of our beſt officers; Enſign Macintyre, and the Lieutenants Kenneth Mackenzie, Gordon, Boyce, and Macgregor, fireworker. About forty of our men were killed, and one hundred wounded. The enemy, by the 15th of July, had wrought themſelves along the whole of our northern covered way, and began to fill up the ditch oppoſite to the breach. The gates of the fort, being much damaged,

damaged, were ſhut up, and two ſally ports cut, to ſupply their place. New batteries were raiſed by the aſſailants: and, in one of their aſſaults, which were now very frequent, they intended to ſcale the walls of a fort ſituated at the junction of the river with the ſea, called, from its figure, Octagon, which had hitherto remained undiſturbed. In the mean time, our men, while they were thus aſſailed by Tippoo Sultan without the fortreſs, were forced to contend, with want of neceſſary ſubſiſtence, and with other inconveniencies, within. Their ſtock of cattle did not at firſt exceed three hundred, and near a third part of theſe, from diſtreſs of weather, and ſundry neglects, died in the great ditch. The weather being wet, and the air cloſe, the ſtench that aroſe from the putrid carcaſes of the animals was inſufferable. From the 13th of June, the Europeans were put on half allowance of beef. The hoſpital was now exceſſively crowded with ſick and wounded, and totally unprovided with beds, medicines, and proper nouriſhment: no tea, ſugar, ſago, wine, or any thing elſe that could alleviate diſtreſs. The ſick men became averſe to going into the hoſpital, which they conſidered as their grave, and gave themſelves up to deſpair.

In

In the midſt of theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, two boats arrived from Mr. Sibbald, Reſident at Tellicherry, with the agreeable information that three or four battalions would certainly join the garriſon, from Bombay, by the 10th of Auguſt; that 1500 Britiſh and Hanoverians, deſtined for Mangalore, had actually left Madras under Colonel Gordon, ſo early as the 20th of May; and that Colonel Fullarton, at the head of an army of 500 European ſoldiers, and 16,000 ſepoys, with 22 pieces of cannon, managed by a good train of artillery, having reduced ſeveral ſmall forts, had advanced, in his march to the coaſt of Malabar, near to Pallacatcherry; that an army had gone againſt Arcot, and that hopes were entertained of the reduction of Seringapatnam, and of the diſmemberment of the Myſorean empire. The garriſon, animated by this intelligence, gave a *feu-de-joy*, with three cheers, from the ramparts. Tippoo Sultan, as well as the French Reſident at his Court, had been informed, ſome days before this, of the general pacification in Europe, in which Tippoo was included as an ally of France, though they had concealed it from our garriſon, in the hopes that, from the extremities to which they were reduced, they would be induced to capitulate. But the *feu-de-joy* having led them rightly to conclude,

that the Engliſh too, had received intelligence of the peace, the French troops refuſed to co-operate any longer with Tippoo in reducing Mangalore. A letter was received, under a flag of truce, by Colonel Campbell, from Monſ. Piveron de Morlay, Envoy at the Durbar of Myſore, from France, with very particular news from the coaſt of Coromandel, where was now a ceſſation of arms, reſpecting a peace in Europe. Theſe he wiſhed to communicate to Colonel Campbell in perſon, without being blindfolded, as is cuſtomary during hoſtilities, when he ſhould come within the Engliſh works. Monſ. de Piveron, with his retinue, was very politely received by the Commander of Mangalore, with whom he had a long conference. But, in the mean time, even while a flag of truce was flying, Tippoo perſevered in carrying on war againſt the redoubt above mentioned, which commands the entrance of the river, and which being without a ditch, and incapable of a long defence, ſurrendered on terms, after a practicable breach was made in its walls.

During the progreſs of hoſtilities, but eſpecially after it was underſtood that there was ſome proſpect of peace, there are not a few inſtances of the enemy's centinels, when they perceived our people off their guard, beckoning to them

to

to get under cover, leſt they ſhould be obliged to fire at them. Our men were not behind them in this act of humanity; but, it is only juſtice to ſay, that the enemy ſet the example. The French Envoy came a ſecond time into the fort, on the 22d of July, and in order to favour a negotiation for peace, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was agreed on for two days. In this interval, and even while ſome of Tippoo's principal people were in the fort, a mine was ſprung under the outer eaſtern gate, which almoſt ſmothered the whole of the guard with rubbiſh, but wounded ſeveral ſoldiers and ſepoys, and buried five men in the ruins. Of this diſaſter, which was repreſented as flowing accidentally from the aſhes of a tobacco pipe thrown careleſly on the line of powder laid before the ſuſpenſion, Tippoo Sultan declared his entire ignorance, and offered to deliver up the perſon ſuppoſed to be in fault, to be puniſhed at the Engliſh Commander's diſcretion; a ſacrifice which Colonel Campbell did not require. The Engliſh Engineer loſt not a moment to fill up the opening that was made in the wall. During this ſhort ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, the enemy erected, towards the ſouth-eaſt quarter of the fort, a battery of 10 guns: upon which the garriſon, exaſperated at this appearance of treachery, brought all the guns they could, to bear with uncommon fury.

After

The letter communicated by the French Envoy to Colonel Campbell contained a requiſition from Meſſrs. Sadlier and Staunton, the deputies of the Madras Government at Cuddalore, to abſtain from hoſtilities with Tippoo, upon certain conditions agreed to by Monſieur de Buſſy, the French Governor General, from whom Monſieur de Piveron received the packet.

After frequent, though ſhort ſuſpenſions of hoſtilities, and a great deal of correſpondence between the French Envoy, the Sultan, and our Commandant, a ceſſation of hoſtilities was ratified on the 2d of Auguſt, in which the garriſons of Onore and Carwar were included. The enemy allowed, at this juncture, that by diſeaſe and the ſword, they had loſt 7,000 men: our loſs was alſo great. The troops were worn down with conſtant fighting in the day, and hard duty at night. Their ſhort intervals of repoſe, as they were unſheltered by bomb-proofs or caſemates, were interrupted by the noiſe of thoſe tremendous ſtones that were thrown from mortars, which impreſſed their minds, even amidſt their ſlumbers, with dread and horror. Nor did there paſs a day in which ſeveral of our men were not cut off by a large and heavy kind of muſket, called a *jinjall*. It is very long in the barrel, larger than a common muſket in the bore,

and ſledged on a reſt, for the purpoſe of taking a ſteady and ſure aim. At different intervals, very thick planks were poſted, muſket proof, and pierced with ſeveral eyelet-holes, through which the enemy ſhot at every one of our people they could ſet their eyes on. But a truce having now taken place, the garriſon enjoyed a degree of liberty, walked out occaſionally, and converſed with the French officers under Colonel Coſſigny. This gentleman, who had refuſed to co-operate with Tippoo, from the moment he knew of a peace in Europe, now demanded a paſſport for his detachment to Mahée, with proviſions, draught cattle, and boats for croſſing certain unfordable rivers: all which the Myſorean, provoked at his forbearance to act any longer againſt the Engliſh, haughtily refuſed. But Coſſigny, having privately received hatchets and cordage for making rafts, from Colonel Campbell, one morning before dawn ſuddenly marched off. Tippoo ſent 600 horſemen after him, not to *requeſt*, but to *command* him to return. Coſſigny formed his men, in order to receive them, and bade them come on at their peril: on which, after a ſhort parley, they returned to their camp. Coſſigny proceeded on his march to Tellicherry. As no orders had yet arrived for evacuating Mahée, or admitting Colonel Coſſigny's detachment into that place, the

the Britiſh Reſident at Tellicherry received them hoſpitably at that ſettlement, and gave them permiſſion to pitch their camp in the iſland of Daraporam, ſituated in the bay, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore.

Though it is education and example chiefly that form the characters of nations and men, yet among the human race there are ſtrong marks of diſtinction, originally impreſſed on the frame of the body and mind by the hand of Nature. In the very boſom of luxury, and before the very throne of barbarian bigotry, a family has ariſen, in our times, who, uniting the greateſt valour with the moſt profound ſagacity, and the loftieſt ambition, have laboured with ſucceſs to learn the European arts, that they might thereby be enabled to oppoſe and overturn European, and particularly the Engliſh dominion in Aſia. Nor were the hoſtile intentions of Hyder-Ally-Cawn confined to that quarter of the world: he formed the magnificent plan of raiſing by degrees ſuch a fleet as might diſpute with England the ſovereignty of the ſea, and even retort, it is ſaid, the invaſions that had harraſſed India, on the Iſland of Great Britain. He poſſeſſed all the materials for ſhip-building in ſuperior abundance, and ſome of theſe of greater excellence than any to be found in Europe. He allured

artificers into his ſervice from foreign countries, and trained up workmen in his own. For ſeveral years he had been employed in building, and in the year 1781, had nearly finiſhed ſix ſhips of the line of battle, ſome of which were afloat, together with ſeveral frigates and ſloops of war. All theſe were exceedingly ſtrong and thick in the planks, being intended to encounter the European ſeas, the water of which, he had heard, was very *ſtrong* and *thick*; a confuſed idea of ice. The ſhips of Hyder were deſtroyed in 1782 and the beginng of 1783, by our fleet; [illegible] ne live to repair their loſs. But his ſon Tippoo, the heir of his dominions, his genius, and his vaſt deſigns, neglected not any means, or the purſuit of any accompliſhment or art by which theſe might be carried into execution. He was inſtructed in the Perſian and French languages, and he alſo knew a little of the Engliſh, in which the word of command was given to his ſoldiers. He learned the elements of mathematics, and was familiarly converſant with the principles of gunnery, and military architecture and tacticks. With the baggage of the officers that fell into his hands on the 23d of May, there was found Sime's Military Guide. This book was carried to Tippoo by ſome of his people, who, according to their ſuperſtitious notions, ſuppoſed that the draughts which it contained, related in

ſome myſterious manner, to arts of incantation. The Sultan, who inſtantly diſcovered its nature, began to ſhew great civility to Lieutenant Spottiſwood, a priſoner, by ſending cloth to him, and other preſents. At laſt, a perſon from the Sultan requeſted him to tranſlate the Treatiſe into the Moor's language, which he ſpoke fluently: but Mr. Spottiſwood politely excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that he could not anſwer for tranſlating a military book, without orders from his Commander.—They who take delight in tracing reſemblances between antient and modern characters, will be able to find many points of compariſon between Tippoo and Hannibal: both at once ſubtle and brave; ſtudious of the knowledge of their times; trained up by their fathers in hoſtility to the firſt power of the age; exciting the vengeance of all nations againſt that power; and in this career, taking a wider range than that which uſually bounded their views: Hannibal extending his intrigues to the nations on the Red Sea; Tippoo Saib to Conſtantinople, and other ſeats of power on the Mediterranean.

No ſooner was the cauſe of Tippoo Sultan abandoned by the French, than he ſought to connect himſelf with all other powers whom he conſidered as the natural enemies of England,

and endeavoured to convert the Mahometan religion into a band of union among different nations, for the purpoſe of expelling the Europeans from Hindoſtan. He broke through almoſt every article of the ceſſation of arms. It was ſtipulated in the armiſtice that the Nabob ſhould furniſh for the garriſon, three times a week, a bazar ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, at the rate of his own markets. A bazar was accordingly furniſhed; but every article was ſo exorbitantly dear, that there was ſcarcely any thing which the men could purchaſe. The prices were daily raiſed, till a fowl ſold from nine to twelve rupees, a ſeer of rice for four, a ſeer of ſalt for three, and a frog for ſixpence. Seven boats, laden with proviſions from Bombay, were ſeized by Tippoo, and the articles they contained were ſold by his people in the bazar, at the dreadful rate juſt ſtated. This plan of the Sultan's, for reducing the fort of Mangalore by famine, was carried to the utmoſt height within his power, by a total ſtoppage of the bazar. Horſes fleſh was now delicious food. Snakes, ravenous birds, rats, and mice were ſought after and eaten with voracity. For the two laſt months of the ſiege, from ſeven to fifteen men, died every day from the want of the neceſſaries of life. A deep melancholy, ariſing from weakneſs of body, deſpair of relief ſo often

often promiſed in vain, and from every ſurrounding object, rendered the men who ſurvived their fellow-ſoldiers indifferent how they interred them: ſo that they often became the food of the jackall and the pariar dog. The famiſhed ſoldier lay in wait with his muſket, and a ſtolen cartridge, to kill thoſe horrid animals in the act of tearing up the dead: and, when he ſucceeded, the animal was carried in with triumph.

A reinforcement of 300 Hanoverians appeared off Mangalore in two ſhips of war, with other ſhips in company: but as the troops could not land, according to the terms of the armiſtice, they were ordered to ſail to Tillicherry. Brig. Gen. Macleod alſo, appeared from the north, on the 1783] 25th of November, with 11 ſhips and 34 ſmaller veſſels, having on board the long promiſed relief for the garriſon, with 1,000 Europeans, 3,900 ſepoys, and 350 marines, ſeamen and artillery men. The General had made ſignals to the garriſon, and was adviſed by a Council of War, held on board his ſhip, to land his ſuccours, when, in conſequence of a negotiation he carried on with Tippoo, by means of his Secretary, Mr. Leighton, whom he ſent on ſhore for that purpoſe, he ſet ſail with the reinforcement on the 31ſt of December,

having ſtipulated with the Sultan, that proviſions ſhould be admitted into the garriſon, for one month. The whole, however, of this ſupply, drawn it is ſaid, from damaged ſtores purchaſed from a Navy Agent, was not permitted to paſs into the garriſon. Proviſions of courſe were dealt out with a ſparing hand, and not a little of theſe of ſo bad a quality, as to be rejected, not only by the men, but by the very dogs. Our officers now feared a general deſertion of the ſepoys; and a mutiny among the Europeans, particularly the 42d regt. one of whom, on the parade ſwore "by G-d that they ſhould not further ſubmit to ſuch treatment." When Macleod failed, the garriſon ſignified that they were unable to hold out any longer. The General anſwered by ſignals that they ſhould ſoon be ſuccoured. His orders from the Goverment of Bombay, were, by no means to provoke hoſtilities, but to encourage a diſpoſition to peace, and, particularly, to abſtain from all violent meaſures, if one month's proviſions ſhould be admitted into Mangalore. He now made ſail to the ſouthward, and took and pillaged Cananore, the Ranah or Queen of which had ſent two Engliſh officers, with 30 ſepoys, caſt on her coaſt by a ſtorm, to Tippoo Sultan. This exploit, which was performed with a ſpirit that overcame the obſtinate reſiſtance of the Moplas,

was

was, however, of no importance with regard to the main object for which the troops under Macleod had been ſent from Bombay. To raiſe the ſiege of Mangalore, ſeemed practicable, at this time, only by the movements of our ſouthern army under Colonel Fullarton; with whom General Macleod, though a ſenior officer, had determined, with true magnanimity, to act in concert, and to ſecond his operations, without interpoſing any act of authority that might interrupt or interfere with his rapid and ſucceſsful progreſs.

To attempt a diverſion of the Ruler of Myſore's arms from the Carnatic, by invading his own dominions on the coaſt of Malabar, was an idea that naturally occurred to all who were acquainted with the political and geographical ſituation, and attached to the Engliſh intereſt in India. But the moſt intelligent and active promoter of this plan of operations, was Mr. John Sullivan, Reſident at Tanjore, and Superintendant of the revenues aſſigned by the Nabob for defraying the expence of the war, in the provinces of Marawa, and Trichinopoly. This gentleman had enjoyed opportunities, and made it his ſtudy to acquire an intimate knowledge of the countries and nations ſituated towards the ſouthern and weſtern ſides of India. He poſſeſ-

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ſed a ſublimity of genius which combined a number of particulars in one general view, and an ardour of mind which carried him on to great enterprizes. He was alſo diſtinguiſhed by that engaging affability and mildneſs of manners, which gain every thing by aſſuming nothing, and which are peculiarly neceſſary, in new and undefined governments, to unite the minds of men, in different ſituations, and with oppoſite pretenſions, into one harmonious ſyſtem of action. Mr. Sullivan, ſtruck with the amazing fertility of Coimbatore, and its continuity with our ſouthern provinces, conceived the plan of giving compactneſs and ſtrength to our dominions by the conqueſt of that important province. The poſſeſſion of Coimbatore, by advancing our poſts to the paſſes of Myſore, would contract our line of defence, and add to our reſources one of the principal magazines of the enemy. Every mile that we ſhould advance into the country of Coimbatore, would be a wound to the Myſoreans, and an acceſſion of ſtrength to the Engliſh. It was therefore determined by the Council of Madras, in conſequence of the repreſentations of Mr. Sullivan, that, while Colonel Humberſtone's little army ſhould march light to Pallacatcherry from Callicut, another force, under Colonel Lang, ſhould advance with heavy artillery, to the ſame place,

from

from Trichinopoly. Tippoo Saib, it was underſtood, would not have run the riſk of placing himſelf between two fires, had the ſouthern army moved, though ſlowly.——With this plan of operation Mr. Sullivan endeavoured to combine the effects of political intrigue. A negotiation was entered into with the partizans of the antient family of Myſore, for raiſing them to the throne of their anceſtors. This 1782] treaty was begun in April, and concluded in October, when Humberſtone, whoſe movements it was ſaid had given ſpirit to our friends in Myſore, was underſtood to be before Pallacatcherry. But Gen. Stuart, the military Commander in Chief, oppoſed in the Committee all ſuch ſchemes of inland operations, at any diſtance from our own frontiers: and Colonel Lang, then in the command of the ſouthern force, had his inſtructions to riſk nothing beyond our own ſouthern provinces, the force with him being barely ſufficient for their defence, far leſs, at that time, to attempt any junction with Humberſtone, without extreme danger of being cut off. Humberſtone, deſtitute of all means to reduce Pallacatcherry, was forced to make a ſpeedy retreat towards Pananah, on the Malabar coaſt.

After the ceſſation of hoſtilities at Cuddalore, the plan of offenſive operations againſt the enemy,

my, on the weſtern ſide of India, was reſumed. Colonel Fullarton, ſtrongly reinforced by detachments from the main army, under the Colonels Stewart and Elphinſtone, at the head of 14,000 men, of whom about 2,000 were Europeans, with a ſuitable train of artillery, having reduced the refractory Colleries and Polygars, began to move in full force to the weſtward. Through many difficulties, ariſing, not from certain ſmall forts, which were eaſily reduced, but from foreſts, woods, rice-grounds, unuſual rains, and the interſections of the river Paniani, he preſſed on towards Pallacatcherry, which might ſerve as a magazine of ſtores and proviſions for the proſecution of his deſigns againſt Myſore, or to ſecure a retreat, if neceſſary. The ſurrender of Pallacatcherry, on the 13th of November, in which the active valour of Captain Maitland was particularly ſignalized, prepared the way for that of Coimbatore, on the 26th. The Colonel intended to proſecute his march towards Gudjereddy and Seringapatnam, when Commiſſioners of Peace, ſent to Tippoo from Madras, ordered him not to proceed any farther. It were ſuperfluous to give a particular deſcription, did the limited ſcale of this little work admit, of events ſo diſtinctly related by the principal actor in the ſcenes deſcribed.* It is not, however,

* See Fullarton's View of the Engliſh Intereſts in India.

ever foreign to the purpoſe of Military Memoirs, to obſerve, that the means by which Col. Fullarton conducted the army under his command, with uninterrupted ſucceſs, and performed great ſervice to his country, are worthy of applauſe and imitation. A ſummary review of the meaſures which he purſued, and the principles on which he acted, proves, that the want of long military experience may, in ſome ſituations, be ſupplied by natural ſagacity and honeſt intentions. When Colonel Fullarton ſucceeded to the chief command of the ſouthern provinces, thoſe countries were in a ſtate of extreme wretchedneſs. Almoſt every ſepoy corps in our ſervice had been defeated or deſtroyed; the diſtricts were ravaged, the inhabitants plundered, the revenues exhauſted, the magazines empty, the Polygars in rebellion, and the troops, with little pay, diſcipline, or ſubſiſtence, in a ſtate of conſternation. In theſe circumſtances Colonel Fullarton was ſolicitous, in the firſt place, to conciliate the confidence and co-operation of the principal officers of the King and Company, both in civil and military departments. With the aid of Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Irwin, Mr. Hippiſley, Mr. Digby, and Mr. Orpin, men, able, zealous, and united in the public cauſe; and that of the ſenior officers of the army, particularly the Colonels Stewart, Forbes, and Elphinſtone,

ſtone, he was enabled to provide ſubſiſtence, and reſtore diſcipline to the army, to eſtabliſh tranquility throughout the provinces, and to march in proſecution of diſtant enterprizes. While he carefully concealed his own intentions, in ſome inſtances even from the goverment under which he acted, he laboured to learn thoſe of the enemy, roads, diſtances, and other circumſtances, by procuring from different quarters, though at a great expence, the beſt hircarrahs that could be found, and forming ſuch a ſyſtem for their management as might, in the moſt effectual manner, ſecure their fidelity and the ſpeedieſt information. He gained the good will and eſteem of the army, by prohibiting, in imitation of General Stuart, all contributions on the bazar, and by a prompt and fair diſtribution of prize-money. Fifty thouſand pagodas, found in Pallacatcherry, were diſtributed among the officers and ſoldiers at the drum-head.—Among other maxims by which Colonel Fullarton was governed, thoſe of the moſt important, were, always to move to a fixed point, and that there was not any reaſon to be apprehenſive of famine, in any country where the enemy could find proviſions. By following theſe rules for intelligence, movement, and ſupply: by a regular payment of *working-money* to the troops, when employed on extraordinary duties of fatigue, and

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by inſpecting every department himſelf, Colonel Fullarton carried an army from the Coromandel to the Malabar coaſt, through untried roads, with rapid ſucceſs.—The interference of the Commiſſioners of Peace, and their poſitive and unqualified orders to deſiſt from all hoſtile operations, on the one hand interrupted the career of his glory; but, on the other ſecured him againſt any of thoſe accidents which might have ariſen from a cloſe and continued conteſt with the Myſorean force under the renowned Tippoo-Saib, and which, by that illuſion of imagination, through which it is fortune, chiefly, that decides the popular reputation of military commanders, might have detracted, in the eſtimation of the multitude, from the praiſe that is due to his excellent conduct.

When we reflect on the ſucceſſes that might have been expected from a junction, or harmonious co-operation of the forces under the command of Colonel Fullarton and General Macleod, we are conſtrained to indulge thoſe ſentiments of regret and indignation, which, it is natural to ſuppoſe, muſt have filled the minds of theſe gentlemen, when, the former received orders to abandon the valuable acquiſitions he had made, at a criſis that promiſed, by ſubverting the family of Hyder-Ally, to exalt the power and con-

conſequence of the Engliſh in India. Such emotions, however, are, in a great meaſure, repreſſed, when we reflect on the ſituation of the Company's affairs, and the conſequences that might have flowed from even a continuance of ſucceſs againſt Tippoo. Although ſupplies of money, from ſeven to eight millions of pounds, had been remitted, in the courſe of the war, from Bengal to the other Preſidencies, for the ſupport of the army, it is certain that our troops on the Malabar coaſt were, from 14 to 18 months in arrears. The little that was paid of what was due, was, three-fourths of it, iſſued in tranſfer notes or treaſury chits, inſtead of caſh, which, from neceſſity, they were in general obliged to diſcount at a prodigious diſadvantage. At Bombay, diſcount, during the ſeries of the war, was not leſs than 30 per cent. and, at one time, after the fall of Bednore, and the capture of General Mathews's army, it was from 70 to 75 per cent.: ſo low had the credit of the Company ſunk in India! * At this alarm-

* It has, not unnaturally, been conſidered as a matter of wonder, that the army ſhould have been in ſuch ſtraits, notwithſtanding the money actually thrown into the Preſidencies of both Bombay and Madras, by the Governor-General and Supreme Council. A bold conjecture has been advanced, that the Pay-maſters General, tho' they actually received caſh to pay the troops, at leaſt in part, did, not-

alarming criſis, the fortune of Great Britain in India ſeemed to hang upon the patriotiſm of one man, in a private ſtation, who, on his own unbounded credit with the ſhroffs, * borrowed money from time to time, in his own name, and gave it into the Treaſury of Bombay, on no other ſecurity than the depreciated bonds of the Company. Had this reſource failed, the ſepoys muſt have mutinied for a total want of pay, and the ſecret of our weakneſs, thereby betrayed, have ſpread the contagion of diſtruſt and revolt throughout the whole of India. Never was the glory of commerce more emphatically diſplayed, than when one great and liberal merchant, † interpoſed with effect, his private credit for the public welfare!

As the Company were not in a condition to ſuſtain the expence of war, prolonged much

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notwithſtanding this, iſſue transfer notes or chits, which they again bought up by their Agents in the bazar, at the enormous diſcount above-mentioned. Care too, it has been ſaid, was taken, in iſſuing theſe transfers, not to do it regularly by the month; but, after a lapſe of time, to iſſue a great number at once, in order to over-ſtock the bazar, and enhance the diſcount, by depreciating the paper currency.

* Money-lenders.

† Mr. DAVID SCOTT, at that time a free merchant of Bombay, now one of the Directors of the Eaſt India Company.

farther, ſo neither could they expect any farther ſuccours from home, after the public councils had become wholly pacific, if Tippoo ſhould accede to any reaſonable terms. Little dependence, it was ſuppoſed, could be placed on the co-operation of the Mahratta with the Engliſh arms, for the purpoſe of compelling Tippoo to accept even an equal peace: but, if we ſhould reduce him to extremities, the Mahrattas, as well as other powers, might unite with him againſt us. Nor would it, perhaps, have been found policy in the Britiſh Councils to have effected the entire overthrow of Tippoo, if this had been in their power. He was a neceſſary barrier againſt the mighty power of the Mahrattas. It was requiſite to humble, but not proper to crush him.

But, if a ſpeedy and ſafe peace with Tippoo was neceſſary, at this criſis, to the Eaſt India Company and to Great-Britain, the mode in which the Preſidency of Madras ſought to accompliſh it, appears to have been the leaſt adapted to that ſalutary end, that could be well imagined. The requiſitorial diſpatches for an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities ſent to Colonel Campbell at Mangalore, tranſmitted from the French Governor-General by his own meſſenger, under the authority of the deputies from Madras,

dras,* put it in the power of Tippoo to gain ſeveral advantages over the garriſon by the moſt flagrant breaches of faith. The ſame gentlemen, who had acted as deputies from Madras to the French Governor-General, in the characters of Commiſſioners for treating of final peace with Tippoo, left Madras in October 1783, and immediately put themſelves in the power of Tippoo's chief officer in the Carnatic, and conſequently of Tippoo himſelf: and all this after the perfidy of that tyrant had been loudly declared by the melancholy fate of General Mathews's army. From the moment the Commiſſioners entered the territories of Myſore, they were treated with unkindneſs and indignity, and ceaſed to be their own maſters. They carried with them 700 coolies, and a great quantity of apparel for the officers and ſoldiers in priſon; but they were not allowed to deliver them. When they had arrived within a day's journey of Tippoo they halted, and ſent notice of their approach, with a requeſt to know when he would grant them an audience. He named ſome diſtant day, it is ſaid, and appointed ſome village, or ſeat of his own, in which they might amuſe themſelves during the interval. When the day

* Meſſrs. Sadleir and Staunton: the firſt, a member of the Council of Madras; the ſecond private Secretary to Lord Macartney.

of audience came, ſome impediment or other, was urged as a pretext for a new prorogation. They were cut off from all communication with their government and countrymen, except that they were permitted to ſend open notes, to the maſter of a ſhip cruiſing off Mangalore, announcing, from day to day, the near approach of peace. The Commiſſioners now apprehenſive of falling, like ſo many of their countrymen at Bednore, by poiſon, formed a project to leave their numerous train behind them and make their eſcape to Tillicherry. This project miſcarried, and they continued in the ſtate of impriſoned men, labouring for their own extrication from imminent danger. The crafty Myſorean, drew them after him from one place to another, and, on various pretences, declined to ſee them from day to day, waiting, before he ſhould conclude any terms of peace, for the fall of Mangalore, an event which, from the extremities to which it was now reduced by famine, and deſpair of relief from all quarters, could not be diſtant.——Our brave garriſon having held out ſeven months after hoſtilities had ceaſed with the French at Cuddalore, by orders of the Madras Government, at laſt offered terms of capitulation, * to which

* Among the articles of capitulation this was one, that the fortreſs of Mangalore was given up for whatever fortreſs in the Carnatic ſhould be ſtipulated for it by the Commiſſioners.

1784] which Tippoo agreed. On the firſt of February, they marched out of the fortreſs of Mangalore, with arms, accoutrements, and the honours of war, to embark for Tillicherry, where they arrived four days after. It had been ſtipulated that not a ſingle man of Tippoo's army ſhould move from camp to take poſſeſſion of Mangalore, before the whole of the Engliſh garriſon ſhould have embarked on their tranſports. But, after they were in motion, and the laſt file had left the gate, Tippoo, impatient of delay, ſent a party of his troops to take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs. Colonel Campbell inſtantly ordered his men to halt, and ſent an officer to Tippoo, to inform him, that if he did not deſiſt, he would immediately re-enter the fortreſs and defend it with the laſt drop of his blood. Tippoo recalled his detachment, and the garriſon embarked, without diſmay, or the leaſt interruption. This intrepid and able officer, worn out with fatigue and care, ſoon after this, breathed his laſt at Bombay. Colonel Campbell was reſerved in his manners, and, in military diſcipline moſt ſevere: yet, by the officers of the army he was held in the higheſt reſpect, and to the common ſoldiers he was almoſt an object of adoration. On every occaſion of alarm the preſence of Campbell reſtored the courage of the men,

men, as by magical power. In the midſt of the hotteſt action he was cool and collected.

The general terms on which the Preſidency of Madras is ſaid to have propoſed to make peace with Tippoo, was, a mutual reſtoration of all places and priſoners, ſo that each belligerent party ſhould remain in the ſame ſtate as before the war. However, Tippoo's Miniſters, with whom out two Commiſſioners had held conferences 1783.] on the ſubject of peace, in November, deſired, as a preliminary to all pacificatory negotiation, an unconditional delivery of Mangalore. But, after the Commiſſioners had thus put their perſons in Tippoo's power, the original views of the Madras Government, whatever they were, ceaſed to be regarded by him, or by his Miniſters, who, in fact, after the reduction of Pallacatcherry, gave orders, through the Commiſſioners, to Colonel Fullarton, then in the command of an army, more numerous than that which had been known as the Carnatic main army. A difference of opinion having ariſen between Mr. Sadleir and Mr. Staunton, the former declaring for an unconditional ſurrender of Mangalore, the latter inſiſting on an equivalent, (though it was not in their power, at that time, to diſpoſe of it in the one way or other) the Preſidency of Madras, in order to prevent future diſputes concerning what might really be

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in their power, added to the commiſſion Mr. Huddleſtone, Secretary to the Select Committee of Madras.

While the Plenipotentiaries from Madras endeavoured to obtain an equivalent for the reſtitution of Mangalore, with all the effect that was to be expected from their ſituation, that fortreſs fell into the hands of the enemy. This important object attained, the haughty Myſorean condeſcended to honour our Ambaſſadors with an audience. A time was appointed for an interview, at which, it is ſaid, care was taken that the Vakeels of the Princes of Hindoſtan at the Court of Tippoo ſhould be preſent. The Sultan, as he was then called, received our Commiſſioners with much ſtatelineſs, gravely aſked their buſineſs, and what favour they meant to aſk of him. They declared the object of their miſſion, and ſtated their propoſals: to which, for the preſent, he made not any reply; but deſired the Foreign Ambaſſadors to mark the greatneſs of his power, and that the Engliſh, almoſt ruined by the war, had now come to beg a peace. The Commiſſioners were detained for five weeks after the fall of Mangalore. A treaty of peace, on the ground of a mutual reſtitution of places and priſoners, was at laſt concluded on the 11th of March. Until this mutual reſtitu- [1784.

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tion ſhould take place, Amboor was to remain in the poſſeſſion of Tippoo, and Dindigul in that of the Engliſh.

But in this treaty with Tippoo, the name of the Nabob of Arcot was not ſo much as mentioned. This defect was ſupplied by the juſt and extended views of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, who were apprehenſive that it might ſubject the Eaſt India Company to an imputation of injuſtice to their allies, and of an uſurpation of authority veſted in another power. The ability, the zeal, the elevation of Lord Macartney above mercenary motives, did not exempt him from a ſpirit of domination, and of hoſtile vengeance againſt all who, in any reſpect, oppoſed or interfered with the meaſures of his adminiſtration. The extreme neceſſities of the Company, and the miſmanagement of the Nabob's Miniſters, had ſuggeſted to the Governor of Madras, ſhortly after his arrival, a plan for ſupplying the former, by ſuperſeding the latter. Lord Macartney, in December 1781, obtained from the Nabob of Arcot, on certain ſtipulations for the ſupport of his Highneſs's dignity and family, an aſſignment of the revenues of the Carnatic to himſelf, for the ſupport of the war, with power to farm them out for the term of three or five years, at his own diſcretion. The revenues were improved, and faithfully em-

ployed in the ſervice of the Company: but a parſimonious and ſevere hand dealt out the pittance that was allowed to the unfortunate Nabob. Even rice, it is ſaid, was wanting for the maintenance of his domeſtics. He repented of having aſſigned his revenues, remonſtrated with Lord Macartney in all the bitterneſs of grief and freedom of indignation, and laid his juſt complaint before the Supreme Council, who revoked the aſſignment, and reſtored the Nabob to the interior management of his territories. Lord Macartney, ſupported by the authority of the Court of Directors, reſiſted that of the Governor-General and Council, which, however, finally prevailed, being entirely approved by the Board of Controul. It is in this political and perſonal conteſt that we are to look for a reaſon, why, in a treaty that reſpected the *Carnatic Payen Gaut*, the name and rights of the Prince, who in the eyes of the Country Powers poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of that country, were wholly omitted.

The pacification with Tippoo Sultan was brought to a termination by the mutual reſtitution of Amboor and Dindigul: though his detention of five hundred Engliſh priſoners, * his

* Including officers, ſerjeants, drummers, and women; and artificers, whom he allured into his ſervice, during

menaces to our ally the Rajah of Travancore, his intrigues at the Durbars of Hindoſtan, and the Court of France, declared at that period, and ſtill declare, that it was not his intention that the peace ſhould be laſting.

But, whatever may be the inclination, it will not now, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, be in the power of Tippoo, or any other enemy, to excite ſo ſudden an alarm, or to carry ſuch rapid and prolonged devaſtation into the Carnatic, as thoſe which marked the ſteps of Hyder-Ally in 1780. Every convulſion that ſhakes a ſtate, if it does not ſubvert, ſtrengthens it. The Engliſh nation, aware of the dangers that threaten their eaſtern poſſeſſions, and the ſources from whence they ſpring, take meaſures, in times of peace, for averting or ſuſtaining the ſtorm of war. It is their plan to ſecure, not to extend their territorial poſſeſſions; to diſmantle moſt of their garriſon-towns; to fortify only a few places; to increaſe their military eſtabliſhment; and to canton the troops in ſuch a manner as to act at a moment's warning. The diſadvantages ariſing from the claims of great officers, civil and military, have become palpable. The powers of goverment have been better de-

fined,

during the war, by a promiſe that they ſhould be releaſed, together with their companions, on the return of peace.

fined, and rendered more free and active. At the ſame time that a proſecution was carried on againſt Mr. Haſtings for acting, on a great emergency, with that deciſion and promptitude which political neceſſity required, the good ſenſe of the Britiſh Legiſlature did homage to the ſpirit of his adminiſtration, by uniting in the perſon of the Earl Cornwallis, the power of the Commander in Chief and the Governor-General.

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